

THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF  
**ELIZABETH WOODVILLE;**

BY  
**MISS SANDHAM.**

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Robert Young Prior, his book;  
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This book came by lot to me upon the decease  
of the above R. Y. P. whose pure spirit quitted its  
earthly tabernacle on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September A.D. 1823.

“~  
For we that are in this tabernacle, do groan,  
being burdened; not for that we would be un-  
clothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might  
be swallowed up of life.” — 2 Cor. 5, 4.

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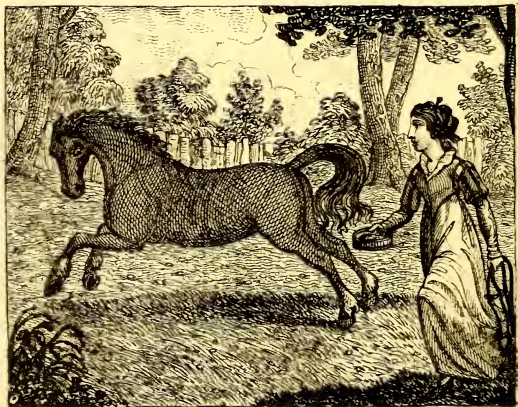
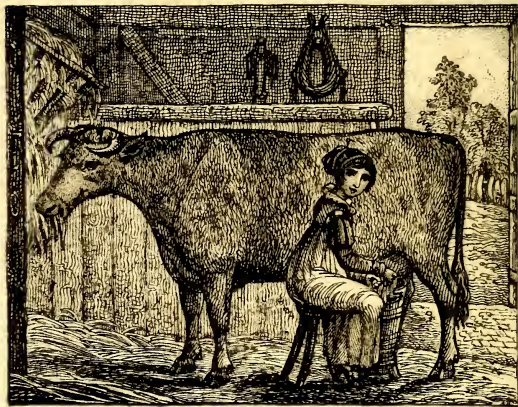
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# THE HISTORY

OF

# ELIZABETH WOODVILLE;

OR

## THE WARS

OF THE

*Houses of York and Lancaster.*

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By E. SANDHAM,

AUTHOR OF "THE TWIN SISTERS," "BRITANNICUS,"

"CHOSROES AND HERACLIUS," &c. &c. &c.

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"The flattering index of a direful pageant;  
One heaved on high, to be hurled down below."

SHAKESPEARE.

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1822.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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## P R E F A C E.



THE History of Elizabeth Woodville, and the various changes in her life, has long appeared to me an interesting subject.—But the times in which she lived were so full of incidents connected with the state of the nation, that the life of an individual however illustrious can gain but little notice among the mass of events which crowd that period of history. In chusing her for my heroine, it has been my aim to draw into one focus those events in which she was so eminently interested. The civil wars of this period were scarcely begun at her birth, and they ended before her life was closed. She was the mother of her whose union with Henry VII. in a great measure, stilled the tumults of the country; and, by her offspring, the sword of blood, which had

At this time the liberal arts, and the lessons of universal benevolence and morality, were scarcely known in Europe: the rights of nations were totally disregarded, and superstition and war were the sole objects of their rulers. The people were taught from their infancy, that gifts to the church would expiate the most atrocious crimes; and that injustice, usurpation, and inhumanity, were sufficiently atoned by a regular attention to her rules.

Before the death of Henry V. he appointed his two brothers, the Dukes of Bedford and of Gloucester, to the regencies of France and England, during his son's minority; but this arrangement not being approved by the parliament, they named Bedford *Protector* of England (not liking the title of Regent); and on finding that his presence was necessary in France, Gloucester was appointed to supply his place in England during his absence.

The person and education of the infant king were committed to the care of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who was afterwards a Cardinal, and of Thomas, Duke of Exeter, his brother: these were the uncles of the late King.

The unfortunate Charles of France died within two months of his son-in-law Henry V. and the young Henry was proclaimed King of France. The Dauphin, the youngest and only surviving son of Charles VI. was also proclaimed, and

crowned at Poitiers as Charles VII.; but the Duke of Bedford took possession of the kingdom in the name of his nephew, and the war continued with unremitting animosity.

The widow of Henry V. married Sir Owen Tudor of Wales, by whom she had two sons, Edmund and Jasper; the former was created Earl of Richmond, and married Margaret, only daughter of the Duke of Somerset, who was the grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. and of the same family as the King. From Richmond sprang Henry VII. of whom we shall speak hereafter. Jasper was created Earl of Pembroke.

The marriage of the Queen of England with a commoner was considered as a degradation, and for some time her husband was imprisoned by the Duke of Gloucester, who acted as protector of the realm. Having made his escape, he was afterwards slain, fighting for the House of Lancaster, in those cruel and unnatural wars which distracted the kingdom, and at last terminated in the ruin of that family.

The transactions of these wars are so connected with the subject of my history, that it will be necessary to remind my readers of the grounds on which the Houses of York and Lancaster founded their respective claims to the kingdom. Edward III. from whom both families sprang, had seven sons; the eldest, Edward the Black



Prince, so famous in history, died in his father's life-time, and his son succeeded to the throne as Richard II.

The second son of Edward III. died in his infancy. His third son was Lionel, Duke of Clarence, whose daughter Philippa married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Their son endeavoured to ascend the throne after the usurpation of Henry IV. but not succeeding, was kept in prison till he died, in the third year of Henry VI.

The fourth son of Edward III. was John of Gaunt, who married the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, and succeeded to his title. From this marriage sprang Henry IV. who deposed his cousin Richard II. in 1399, and ascended the throne in his stead.

Edmund Langley, Earl of Cambridge, and afterwards Duke of York, was the fifth son: his son, the Earl of Cambridge, having married the sister of the imprisoned Mortimer, raised a second conspiracy in his favour early in the reign of Henry V. and was beheaded, with his confederates, at Southampton, 1415; when his title and estates were forfeited to the crown.

He left a son, who in the fifth year of Henry VI. was restored to the title and possessions of his father, having succeeded to those of his uncle Mortimer, in right of his mother, who inherited the estates of her brother. He was also, at this



time, created Duke of York; and was appointed Regent of France, on the death of the Duke of Bedford, notwithstanding the opposition of the Duke of Somerset, who was his inveterate enemy. The advancement of the Duke of York was a fatal error in the administration; for instead of binding him to the service of the King, it assisted his ambitious views upon the crown, as descended in the female line from the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of Henry's ancestor. He had married Cicily, the daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland, and sister to the Earl of Salisbury; the son of the latter nobleman had succeeded to the title and estates of the Earl of Warwick, in right of his wife; and York's connexion with these powerful noblemen gave him a great ascendancy in the nation.

The death of the Duke of Bedford, which happened when the King was about fifteen years of age, hastened the defeat of the English in France, who lost many advantages for want of an efficient commander. Paris was lost before the Duke of York arrived there; and Normandy, of which Somerset was the Governor, was then the only province which remained to England.

The amiable disposition of Henry could not compensate for his want of understanding and energy as a king. Much better qualified for a private station than for the office he was called to fill, he suffered himself to be governed by

those who surrounded him, without considering their character, or the tendency of their counsels. Want of intellect is the fairest excuse which can be made for such conduct in a sovereign, who is more peculiarly commanded to do justice, as well as to love mercy. He was kind and compassionate, but he forbore to punish the guilty. Had he been blessed with better counsellors, his yielding to their opinion, and not obstinately persisting in his own, would have been commendable, and a greater proof of understanding than many wiser monarchs have shewn; as it was, Henry was much to be pitied for being placed in so high a station.

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## CHAPTER II.

*State of England on Henry's Accession.—Second Marriage of the Duke of Bedford.—His death.—Marriage of his Widow with Sir R. Woodville.—Birth of Elizabeth.—Her Journal.—Marriage of the King.—Death of the Duke of Gloucester.—Ambition of York.*

WHEN Henry VI. began his reign, there were five princes of the blood of France, and the first James, King of Scotland, prisoners in England.

After seventeen years captivity, the latter was liberated by the Protector, on his promising to recal some troops which the Regent of Scotland had sent to assist the King of France against the English, and to preserve a strict neutrality between the contending nations. James readily agreed to these terms; and the sister of the Duke of Somerset, a cousin of the King, was given to him in marriage. On entering on the regency of France, the Duke of Bedford married Anne, sister to the Duke of Burgundy, in 1423; her death, which happened ten years after, loosened the bond of union between her husband and brother. In the following year, the former married Jacqueline of Luxembourg, daughter of James, Count of St. Pol, a vassal of the Duke of Burgundy; who not only resented it as an insult to the memory of his sister, but was displeased that his consent to the marriage had not been asked. He accordingly made it a pretence to break off his alliance with the Regent, and joined his forces to those of the King of France.

Jacqueline of Luxembourg was only seventeen when she married the Duke of Bedford, in 1434; he died the year following, and in two years after his death, she married Sir Richard Woodville, a young soldier, who had no other fortune but his sword. This marriage was without the consent of the King, and contrary to an oath she had taken before she could obtain possession of some

estates which the Regent had left her on condition of not marrying without his leave; her husband was fined a thousand pounds for having induced her to break it, but from affection to the memory of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester treated her with the respect due to her former rank. By this marriage she had several children, the eldest of whom is more particularly the subject of this history. The Duchess devoted her time to the education of her daughters, the exercise of religion, and to acts of charity. Part of the journal of her daughter Elizabeth, written when she was about fifteen, will shew my readers the manner of those times; when ladies of the highest rank knew none of those luxuries which now fall to the lot of many in a less elevated situation. Carriages were not known, either in France or England, till the following century, and though each noble family kept a number of retainers, the servants of their household were comparatively few, and constantly assisted in domestic affairs by the daughters of the family.

The following is said to be extracted from an ancient manuscript, preserved in Drummond's Castle, and communicated to the public by Lady Ruthven, whose family descend from a sister of Elizabeth.

“ Monday morning.—Rose at four o'clock, and helped Catherine to milk the cows. Rachel, the other dairy-maid, having scalded her hand in

so bad a manner the night before; made a poultice for Rachel, and gave Robin a penny to get something from the apothecary's.

Six o'clock.—Breakfast, the buttock of beef too much boiled; and the beer a little of the stalest.

*Mem:---To talk with the cook about the first fault, and to mend the second myself by tapping a fresh barrel.*

Seven o'clock.—Went to walk with the Lady my mother in the court yard, fed twenty-five poor men and women, chided Roger severely, for expressing some ill-will at attending with broken meat.

Eight o'clock.—Went into the paddock with Dorothy, my maid. Caught Thump, the little poney, myself, and rode a matter of six miles without bridle or saddle.

Ten o'clock.—Went to dinner.

Eleven o'clock.—Rose from table, the company being all desirous of walking in the fields.

Four o'clock.---Went to prayers.

Six o'clock.---Fed the hogs and poultry.

Seven o'clock.---Supper on table.

*Mem:---The goose pie over baked, and the pork roasted to rags.*

Nine o'clock.---The company half asleep: these late hours are very disagreeable!"

Elizabeth Woodville was about seven years of age when the King married Margaret of Anjou,

daughter of the titular King of Sicily, and niece to the Queen of France. This marriage was much against the interests of his country, and contrary to the will of his uncle the Protector ; by whom he had been engaged to marry a daughter of the Count d'Armagnac, who promised to espouse the cause of the English in France, and to give a large dowry with his daughter. On the other hand, Margaret's father was poor, and could give her nothing ; and what was still more derogatory to Henry's cause, the province of Maine was to be ceded to her uncle the Duke of Anjou.

These terms were agreed on without the knowledge or consent of the Protector, by the Earl of Suffolk, who had been appointed Henry's ambassador to the court of France, to negotiate a truce between the two nations for eighteen months, which was afterwards renewed from time to time during six years.

The Cardinal Beaufort, who was always inclined to forward what the Protector opposed, approved of the match ; and by the King's consent, Suffolk was appointed his proxy to marry the Princess in France, which was performed with unusual pomp and magnificence. She afterwards came to England, and was married to the King, the 18th of April, 1444, at the Abbey of Titchfield, in Hampshire. From thence she proceeded to London, and was crowned at Westminster, on the 30th of the same month.









It may easily be imagined that the Duchess of Bedford was among the ladies who graced her entrance into the capital, and that the childish curiosity of her daughter Elizabeth was highly gratified, by hearing her mother relate the pomp and parade with which it was attended. The Duke of Gloucester, with his retinue and the rest of the court, met the Queen as she approached the city, and a variety of verses and complimentary speeches were recited on the occasion, by persons stationed in the different streets through which she passed. These verses were composed by a monk of St. Edmondsbury, and probably formed the principal literature of that day.

The character of Margaret has been variously represented by different authors. Some hold her up to admiration, but her conduct before the commencement of the wars, can by no means be justified. Her improper familiarity with Suffolk, and the undue authority she maintained in the kingdom, which was unhappily strengthened by the weakness of her husband, rendered her an object of hatred and disgust.

Neither can the ferocity of the age in which she lived, and the want of refinement then prevalent in female manners, excuse her perfidy and cruelty to her foes when they were in her power; she possessed a masculine spirit, without the generosity of a man. It can only be said in

her defence that she followed the example of her enemies, who were equally perfidious and cruel as herself, though this is by no means an excuse, since to return the evil we receive, by a similar conduct, is but to render ourselves as bad as our foes. It may also be said that she was endeavouring to restore to her husband and son what she considered as their right, and that the rising virtues of the latter gave hopes of a better reign than his father's had been ; but her former conduct had not secured her the affections of the people, and therefore she had no well-grounded hope of success.

She acquired a great ascendancy over the King, and immediately joined in council with the Cardinal and Suffolk, who was her principal favourite, against the Duke of Gloucester, whom she knew had opposed her marriage. Suffolk was made a Marquess, and afterwards a Duke, for the part he had taken in promoting it, and received a large sum of money for his expenses.

After the truce between the two nations, York returned from France to England, and was graciously received by the King, who granted him a patent to continue Regent for five years longer. In case Henry died without issue, Gloucester was the next heir to the throne, and York, who considered him as a bar to his ambitious views, readily joined with his enemies in promoting his downfall.

Gloucester was the general favourite of the people, and greatly beloved by his nephew, who would hear no accusation against him. The machinations of his enemies had excluded him from the council, and deprived him of the protectorship. They now arrested him upon a false charge of treason; but his cause was so warmly espoused by the populace, who styled him "the good Duke Humphry," that they feared to bring him to a trial, and after seventeen days imprisonment he was found dead in his bed, 1447. It was strongly suspected that he was murdered, though the authority of the queen was too great for it to be openly said; and the dying agonies of the Cardinal, who did not long survive him, strengthened the opinion.

Some authors affirm that the latter confessed the part he took in the murder. The extreme sorrow of the King on the death of his uncle, and the general tenor of his conduct, convinced his subjects that he was not accessory to the cruel deed, though he forbore to enquire who were the perpetrators of it; but their indignation vented itself in low and deep curses on the Queen and her favourite, under whose influence they believed it had been done. The Cardinal's death lessened the power of Margaret and her council, and rendered Suffolk more obnoxious to the rage of the people, who now began openly to revile him.

The blindness of mortals who would take the regulation of their affairs into their own hands, is clearly seen in the conduct of Margaret. She thought herself more securely fixed on the throne by the death of Gloucester, instead of which it was the first event which forwarded her ruin. York had now no opposer to his claim but Henry, who had already lost the confidence if not the affections of his people, by his pusillanimity and weakness of understanding. The arbitrary conduct of his wife, who ruled in his name, made her also the object of their displeasure; and York thought it a fit time to assert his rights with impunity. He secretly employed several agents to spread his claim through the country, and to substantiate its justice: but though he appeared not in the business himself, the Queen showed her displeasure at the steps he had taken, by removing him from the regency of France before the expiration of the appointed time, and Somerset was sent thither in his place.

The war with that nation was renewed in 1449, and York was sent to suppress an insurrection in Ireland. Here he gained great ascendancy over the people, and formed future plans for the completion of his ambitious project.

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## CHAPTER III.

*Death of Suffolk.—Cade's Rebellion.—Loss of Normandy.—Disgrace and Restoration of Somerset.—Renewal of the War with France.—Its ill success.—Rivalry of York and Somerset.—The first battle of St. Alban's.—Capture of the King.—Advancement of York.*

THE death of the Duke of Gloucester was sincerely lamented by all who desired the peace and prosperity of England. Whatever had been the faults of his private character, he had, as a statesman, and as Protector, considered the welfare and glory of the realm, rather than his own, and had secured the love and respect of the people. Elizabeth was old enough to join with her mother in the sorrow she expressed on the occasion, who felt his death as the loss of a friend and relation, to whom she was indebted for much of the respect which she received as the widow of his brother.

At this time affairs in France went on very ill; the English were beaten in several engagements, and the towns which yet remained to them in that kingdom were gradually yielding to



their opponents. Suffolk, who was now the King's chief counsellor, was blamed for not sending more forces, and at length openly accused of having betrayed the interest of his country to the French King. He was committed to the Tower in 1450, and notwithstanding the authority of the Queen, and the entreaties she condescended to make to the King that he might not be punished, he was banished the kingdom for five years. His enemies however had determined on taking his life, and according to Hume's account of the transaction, they employed an English cruiser to seize the vessel in which he had embarked for France, the captain of which ordered his head to be taken off in his presence, declaring him a traitor to his country. His body was thrown on the sands at Dover, and afterwards buried by his own chaplain at Wingfield in Suffolk. Such was the unrestrained malignity of the times, that no notice was taken of this unjust proceeding; and no one attempted to punish his murderer. The Duke of Suffolk was a man of considerable abilities, and had served forty-four years in the wars with France; in which his father and three of his brothers had fallen.

During these transactions, York had been forming his plans in Ireland. The death of the Duke of Gloucester had opened the flood-gates of rebellion; but he was willing to try the minds of the people of England by an underplot, before

he publicly declared his intention. Having found a man suited to his purpose in John Cade, who had formerly served under him as a soldier, he instructed him to personate the son of Sir John Mortimer, who had been beheaded without trial, on a suspicion of treason, early in the present reign; and was the cousin of Edmund Mortimer, who died in prison. Instigated by York, this man claimed the crown as the heir of the house of Mortimer; and though there was not the least appearance of his succeeding, his employer thought it might be a prelude to his own attempt, and afford his friends an opportunity of assembling in his favour, under the pretence of subduing the rebel party. Cade's rebellion was soon suppressed, and his head struck off by Iden, a yeoman of Kent, in whose orchard he had secreted himself, when obliged to desert the men he had raised. York would have brought an army from Ireland, apparently to assist the King's forces, but he had now become an object of suspicion with the council, and they forbade his returning to England with any other attendants than his usual retinue. In this year, 1450, the province of Guienne in France, which for three hundred years had been possessed by the English, fell into the hands of Charles VII. Normandy was lost the year before: and of all the mighty conquests made by the former Henrys, there now remained only

the town of Calais and its dependencies to their successor.

Somerset, who had been appointed Regent of France in the room of York, bore all the blame of these losses, and became as much the object of the people's resentment as Suffolk had formerly been. On his return to England he was committed to the Tower, till his conduct during his government of France should be examined; but he remained there only till the parliament, by whom he had been committed, were separated. He was then released, and resumed his place in the council to which he was appointed on the death of Suffolk, whom he also succeeded in the favour of the Queen.

York, after he had written a letter to the King in which he declared he had no intention of opposing him, was allowed to enter England, and was joyfully received by his adherents. These were Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, and his son Earl of Warwick; the Earl of Devonshire, and Baron Cobham. They were acquainted with his views, and secretly promoted them by propounding the justice of his claim, in every society in which they durst make it the subject of conversation. After consulting with them, York retired into Wales, where he had large possessions, and where his family had been held in high esteem.

From thence he again wrote to the King,



warning him of evil counsellors, and more particularly of Somerset. The King returned a civil answer, and offered to take him into his council if he would swear allegiance to him, and disband the forces he was now openly raising, under the pretence of guarding himself from the ill designs of Somerset his ancient enemy.

The Duke took the oath which the King desired, but did not dismiss the men whom he had raised in his own defence; he marched with them towards London, and Henry, advised by Somerset, raised a superior force, and went to meet him. Had the King acted with firmness, it appears the rebellion might at this time have been suppressed, for though York by forced marches had arrived at the gates of London before he met the King, whom he had avoided by taking another road, the citizens refused him entrance, and, much mortified by their refusal, he returned to meet the King on the borders of Kent. A parley ensued, in which the friends of York endeavoured to mediate between the parties; they insisted that he wished only for the dismissal of Somerset, or that he should be tried agreeably to the order of parliament after his return from France.

The court pretended to comply with this request, and intimated that Somerset was already in confinement. This induced York to appear before Henry, and, entering the royal tent, he

repeated his charges against his enemy, accusing him of betraying his country, and of imposing on the King. At this moment he was surprised to see Somerset himself step from behind a curtain, who denied the charges, and openly accused *him* of a design to wrest the crown from his lawful Sovereign. York now found himself betrayed, he was arrested by order of the King, and had not his enemies feared the people, who were evidently on his side, they would have taken his life; they also considered that he had a son old enough to avenge his death, and many powerful friends, even in Henry's camp, pleaded for his being set at liberty.

At this time deputies had arrived from Gascony, offering to restore that province to the English, if they would send troops to support them.

The idea of recovering some of their possessions in France, and their unwillingness to risk a war in England, while they were attempting it, induced them to release York. On his again taking a solemn oath of allegiance, and engaging to remain faithful to Henry till death, and on no account to raise another army, he was allowed to retire to his estate of Wigmore, in Wales; his soldiers were dismissed, and the English returned with fresh ardour to the war with France.

Their attempt was fruitless; after two years hard fighting, and the loss of several brave com-

manders, they were obliged to give up all hopes of subduing the forces of the French King, and from this time no farther effort was made to recover their possessions in that country. To those who consider war as the scourge of the Almighty, the memorable answer of an Englishman, to a French Captain who asked him, deridingly, when their troops would again come to France, will not be uninteresting :—" When" said he " the sins of your country exceed those of our's."

The year 1453 was also remarkable for the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the destruction of the Grecian empire. In this year also the Queen had a son, who received the name of Edward. The adherents of York considered this as no joyful event, as it removed their hopes of his peaceable accession to the throne on the death of Henry; who was at this time seized with an illness which increased his natural imbecility, and rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty.

York, although he by no means gave up his pretensions to the crown, behaved with such moderation in his retirement, that the queen was induced to overlook his former conduct, and at the intreaties of his friends, who were very powerful, to recal him to the council, together with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

No sooner were they admitted than they renewed their attack upon Somerset, and, incited

by York and his party, the parliament again sent that nobleman to the Tower, on a charge of maladministration. At the same time they appointed York protector of the realm during their pleasure. The Queen now saw her error in having recalled him. Had he at this time asserted his claim, it is probable he would have been established on the throne without those wars which afterwards depopulated the kingdom; but he continued irresolute, till Henry, recovering from his illness, resumed the royal authority, and moved by the enemies of York, annulled his protectorship, and recalled Somerset, to whose care he again committed the administration, 1555.

York retired into Wales in disgust, where he levied an army, but still without asserting his pretensions to the crown; he only complained of the minister, and demanded a reform in the government. The King also raised his troops, and accompanied by his nobles marched to give him battle. The contending parties engaged each other at St. Alban's, May 24th, 1455, in which battle the Yorkists gained the victory without losing any of their men, while there fell above five thousand of their enemies. The Duke of Somerset was slain, and the Earls of Northumberland and Stafford. The latter was eldest son to the Duke of Buckingham. The King was wounded in the neck by an arrow, and

was taken by the rebel party; the Duke of York treated him with every mark of respect, and kneeling before him, declared that since the enemy of his country was dead, he was ready to obey all his commands. Henry only begged that no more blood might be shed; and finding himself entirely in the power of York, he made a virtue of necessity, and received him again to favour. Both armies were disbanded, and they returned to London together; where the King called the parliament, and in their presence declared his entire reconciliation to York and his friends, whom he styled his faithful and liege subjects. A general indemnity was granted to all his followers; and Henry again appointed him Protector during the minority of the Prince of Wales. Salisbury was appointed Lord Chancellor, and Warwick High Admiral and Governor of Calais. Thus were the three highest stations in England given to the enemies of the King: an evident proof how much he was in their power, and how greatly the people were prejudiced in their favour to permit it to be done.

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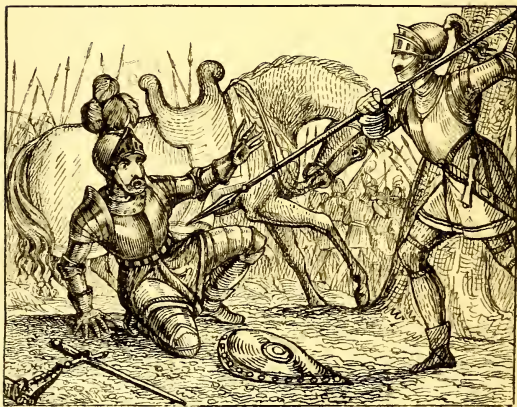
## CHAPTER IV.

*Marriage of Elizabeth Woodville to Sir John Grey.—Party formed against the Duke of York.—Henry resumes the Government.—York retires into Wales.—Invasion of England by Scotland.—Truce with that Nation.—Re-union of Henry and the Duke of York.—Quarrel between the King's Servants and Warwick's.—Dissentions renewed.—York's Party raise Forces.*

WHILE England was thus divided into separate parties, Elizabeth, the heroine of this history, was probably spending the happiest days of her life. At the age of nineteen she was married to him whom her youthful heart had selected as its partner, the son of Lord Grey, of Groby in Northamptonshire, near Grafton, the seat of her father. The journal of Elizabeth, which I have mentioned in a preceding chapter, is my only authority for giving this title to the father of the young man. The way in which she speaks of him in these her simple memoirs, evinces their attachment to each other; one of her remarks is as follows:—"I cannot say that I should have









any objection to John Grey; he plays at prison-bar as well as any of the country gentlemen, is remarkably attentive to his parents, my Lord and Lady, and never misses church on a Sunday."

They were married, with the consent of their friends, in 1455; and enjoyed the quiet of domestic happiness till her husband took part in the contest, which afterwards broke out into a furious war.

At this time the Duke of York appeared to live in perfect security: he did not arbitrarily execute the duties of his high station, but allowed the King and Queen to act without his interference as Protector; yet Margaret could not be easy while she knew him invested with a power which he might at any time assume. She had already formed a party, who with herself were his inveterate enemies. The son of the Duke of Somerset had succeeded to his father's titles; he inherited also his enmity to York, and was impatient to revenge his death: the Duke of Buckingham was also eager to avenge that of his son; and all who were attached to the House of Lancaster dreaded the encroachments which York might make. In the following year, 1456, Henry recovered his health, and was induced by the Queen and her party to recal the grant of the protectorship which he had given to York. He resumed the appearance of royalty, and removed Salisbury from the chancellorship.

This was the signal for them again to exert themselves; they retired from the court in disgust, and were for some time together with their adherents in Yorkshire. The aim of Margaret was to separate these discontented Lords; and under the pretence of its being necessary for the King's health, she repaired with the court to Coventry, that she might be nearer to them, and have it in her power to watch their conduct. York and his friends were invited thither to attend the King, but having been apprised of treachery, they refused the invitation, and parted. York withdrew to his old retreat in Wales, where he had many partisans; Salisbury retired to his estate of Middleham, in Yorkshire, and Warwick to his government of Calais.

In this year James II. of Scotland, who had succeeded James I. assisted Charles of France to invade England. As this nation had formerly taken advantage of the intestine divisions of that kingdom, Charles hoped to have been equally successful in his attempt to subdue England, by attacking it under the same circumstances; but his forces were soon defeated, and the truce between the two nations renewed, which continued for four years.

This affair being settled, Henry's mild and pacific disposition led him to seek a reconciliation with York and his party; to which the Queen consented more from policy than a wish for a

re-union. She feared the increasing power of the Duke, and knew not what excuse to make for not complying with the King's wishes, which were seconded by the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury and several prelates. The offended noblemen were therefore invited to London, but their arrival had more the appearance of hostility than of peaceable intentions. York came with four hundred men, and took up his abode at Baynard's Castle, so called from the name of the person who built it, in Thames Street, mentioned by Shakspeare as the residence of the hypocritical Gloucester, where he contrived *his* plans for obtaining the kingdom. Salisbury repaired to his house, called Cold Harbour, in the same neighbourhood, with five hundred followers; and Warwick lodged, with six hundred more, in the Grey Friars.

The opposite party presented an appearance not less martial. Somerset and Exeter were lodged within Temple Bar, with eight hundred soldiers; while Northumberland and other noblemen lodged in Holborn, with fifteen hundred. The King and Queen resided at the Bishop's palace, within the city, not thinking themselves safe out of it; the streets were continually patrolled by five hundred men, under the direction of the Mayor, to maintain the public tranquillity.

A conference took place between the con-

tending parties, in which, after some high words had passed, the mediating bishops produced a seeming reconciliation. A day was appointed, in which both parties went in solemn procession to St. Paul's, headed by the King, in his royal robes; the Queen was led by the Duke of York, and followed by the nobles of the opposite parties, hand in hand, in token of their perfect amity; but much sincerity on either side could not be expected. York and his friends still dreaded the perfidy of Margaret; and were glad of the first opportunity to quit the court, and retire into Yorkshire. On his return to Calais, Warwick seized on some ships belonging to Genoa, which had refused to pay the respect which he considered due to the English flag. These he carried with him to the port of Calais; and their rich cargoes were a great assistance to York, in furnishing him with money to pursue his plans.

The republic of Genoa applied to the English government for redress; and Warwick was ordered to appear, and give an account of his conduct. On his arrival in London with his usual retinue, some of the King's servants insulted his followers: a quarrel ensued, which was attributed to the Earl's instigation, and many lives were lost. He narrowly escaped an arrest, and imprisonment in the Tower, by hastening back to Calais; and took with him

several of the King's ships, of which he had the command as High Admiral.

The flame thus breaking forth again, York, who had already found he could place no dependance on the promises of Margaret, immediately returned to Wales, and began to levy his forces; while Salisbury assembled five or six hundred men, with whom he marched towards London, to avenge the outrage committed on his son.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Margaret raises an army.—Battle of Bloreheath.—York affects Submission.—Returns into Ireland.—He and his Party pronounced Traitors.—Somerset supersedes Warwick in the Government of Calais.—The Earl of March raises an Insurrection in Kent.—He enters London.—Battle of Northampton.—Defeat of the Queen's Army.—The King taken prisoner.—Margaret retreats into Scotland.—Warwick reinstated.—Death of James II. and of Charles VII. of France.*

THE intrepid Margaret also raised her forces to oppose her exasperated enemies, and accompanied by the king and the prince, then six years

of age, she made a progress through the counties of Warwick, Staffordshire, and Cheshire, in which by her insinuating behaviour, and assumed affability, she gained many followers, and to these Edward Prince of Wales distributed silver swans as badges of their party. Lord Audley received a commission to raise ten thousand men on their side, with whom he marched against Salisbury, to intercept his union with the Duke of York, who still remained in Wales. They met at Bloreheath, near Mucklestone, on the borders of Staffordshire, September 23, 1459, and after an obstinate engagement, in which Audley fell with twenty-four hundred of his men, Salisbury prevailed. He opened a passage and joined York in Herefordshire, while the king's party retreated towards Coventry.

Warwick was then invited from Calais to join the rebels; and with him came part of the garrison, commanded by Sir Andrew Trollop. The Duke of York again wrote to the king, declaring that he had not taken up arms against him, but to defend himself from his enemies; he repeated his former assertion of subjection to his grace, and his wish for a reform in the government.

The Queen attributed this affected submission to fear, and hastened to come to another engagement. On approaching the hostile forces she caused copies of an offer of pardon, to all who should quit them and return to the king, to be



distributed through their camp. Sir Andrew Trollop, who now began to discover the designs of York, hastened to accept the terms, and deserted with the whole of his men in the middle of the night. His example was followed by several others, which so intimidated York and his friends, that without venturing to come to a battle, they dismissed their remaining men, and sought their own safety in flight. York, with his youngest son Rutland, retired to Ireland. His eldest son, the Earl of March, then nineteen years of age, embarked with Salisbury and Warwick for Calais.

The town of Ludlow, in Shropshire, where the rebels had entrenched themselves, was bereft of its walls; and the Duchess of York, who resided in its castle, and had not fled with her husband, was deprived of her goods, and treated with great indignity by the Queen. In the ensuing parliament York, Salisbury, and Warwick were pronounced traitors, their estates confiscated, and their issue declared incapable of succeeding to any inheritance, to the fourth generation. In the mean time Somerset had been sent to take possession of the government of Calais, and to displace Warwick, who refused to resign the office, saying he had received it from the parliament, and not from the King, from whom therefore he would not receive his discharge.

We now hear for the first time of Elizabeth

Woodville's family taking any part in these quarrels; though it cannot be supposed that her father, who had been bred a soldier, would remain inactive. The Queen gave him and his son Anthony the command of a considerable body of men, with whom he was to assist Somerset in obtaining the possession of Calais. While they were waiting at Sandwich for a fair wind to waft the transports in which they were embarked, Warwick sallied forth with the ships already in his possession, and brought them as prisoners to Calais; then reinforcing his fleet with the transports which conveyed them, (the sailors being all devoted to his service,) he repaired to Ireland, in order to plan with York another insurrection.

It was then agreed that March, Salisbury, and himself should join their adherents in Kent, raise an army, and proceed with them to London, where they did not doubt of a favourable reception. In his return to Calais, Warwick was met on the seas by the Duke of Exeter, whom the King had appointed to supersede him as high-admiral. The duke ordered his fleet to engage with him, but such was the attachment of the sailors to their old commander, that they refused to obey, and Warwick arrived in safety at his government.

In 1460, the Earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick, with a considerable force, landed in

Kent, where they were met by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several persons of distinction. After publishing a manifesto, declaring their design was not to subvert the government, or to injure the King, but to reform those abuses under which the people had so long laboured, they marched to London, where they were received with triumphal acclamations.

Margaret, who had remained at Coventry with her husband and son, sent from thence a detachment, under the command of Lord Scales, to oppose their entrance; but the mayor refused to admit that nobleman, even before the opposite party had arrived.

Somerset and the Woodvilles had been recalled from Calais; the former with Buckingham headed the royal army, in which the Queen acted as General, and issued her orders in the King's name, whom she kept with her as a sanction to her proceedings. As soon as the Earl of March heard she was advancing towards London, he left Salisbury to guard the capital, and proceeded with Warwick and his army to stop her progress. They met near Northampton, and though the associated Lords sent the Bishop of Salisbury to intreat the King to suspend his wrath, and join them in some reasonable measure to prevent the shedding of blood, their address was rejected, doubtless.

through the interference of the Queen, and a desperate engagement ensued.

Margaret, accompanied by her son, stood on an eminence at a little distance to survey the battle, and gave her orders as she saw occasion: while Henry remained in his tent, waiting with anxious fear, the event which was to decide the fate of his crown, and to which of the parties he was afterwards to be in subjection.

March had commanded his soldiers to offer no injury to the King, and to spare the common men; his object being to defend them against the abuses of the noblemen, who mis-ruled the kingdom and at that time headed the army. The revolt of Lord Grey, of Ruthven, who with the men under his command went over to the York party, decided the victory in their favour; the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and several other persons of distinction were slain on the spot; the Queen, her son, and the Duke of Somerset, fled to Durham; and Henry again fell into the victor's power. He was treated with every exterior mark of respect, and his want of understanding prevented his feeling very acutely the reverses of fortune to which he was continually exposed. He accompanied the victorious party to London, and was lodged with a sufficient guard in the palace; while the Queen, who was much more the object

of their resentment, fled for refuge with her son into Scotland.

Another parliament was called, in which the acts of the former one, as relating to the Duke of York and his friends, were annulled; and they were again declared good and faithful subjects. The government of Calais was a second time confirmed to Warwick, and the Earl of Salisbury was sent with a considerable force to the relief of Roxburgh Castle, on the borders of Scotland, which was besieged by James II. This castle had formerly been given as a security to England, but the distractions of the country had induced James to attempt its recovery. He was killed at this siege by the bursting of a cannon, and was succeeded on the throne of Scotland by his son, James III. then seven years of age. Charles VII. of France, also died in this year. It is said that he starved himself from the fear of being poisoned by the Dauphin, who succeeded him, as Louis XII.

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## CHAPTER VI.

*Return of York from Ireland.—His Claim to the Crown.—Appointed to succeed Henry.—Margaret raises another Army.—Battle of Wakefield.—Death of York.—Murder of Rutland.—Pembroke's Division defeated by the Earl of March.*

DURING these proceedings York remained in Ireland; but on the success of his son, he hastened to arrive in London. Finding the parliament sitting, which had been called in the King's name, he entered the House of Lords, and immediately advancing to the throne, he laid his hand upon it, and then stood for some time silent, as if to observe what the Lords thought of this significant action.

Without appearing to notice it, the Archbishop of Canterbury asked him if he had seen the King since his arrival? He boldly replied that he knew no one to whom he allowed that title; and then presented a written paper, in which he had drawn up his claim to the crown, as descended from the elder brother of John of Gaunt, the founder of the House of Lancaster;



and which claim I have laid before my readers in the introductory chapter.

It is probable the Duke expected to be greeted as their Sovereign on his first entrance, but not finding them so inclined, he left them to debate the matter, and retired from the house. After having examined the paper, the Lords resolved to inform the King of its contents, before they proceeded farther in the business; and Henry received the intelligence with perfect indifference. As, in reality, he never had possessed the royal authority (which was usurped by those who governed him and the kingdom in his name), and perhaps was not capable of exercising it, the empty title of royalty did not appear to him an object of much consequence.

After having perused the claim by which York thought himself entitled to dispossess him of his rights, he desired the judges and law-officers of the realm might be consulted on its justice; but they refusing to decide on so important an affair, the Lords resumed the debate; and after various consultations they endeavoured to compromise the matter, and to please both parties by the following decision:

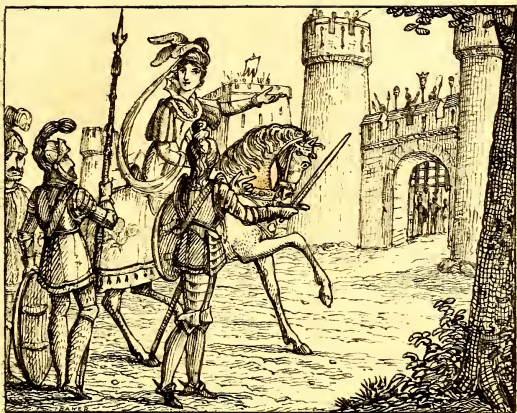
They determined that Henry should retain the title of king while he lived, and that York should be the protector of the realm, and succeed to the throne on his death.

To these terms Henry readily acceded; but it

was not likely that the enterprising Margaret would thus resign the inheritance of her son. She received an order in the King's name to repair to London, which she refused to obey; and returning from Scotland, she called together the northern Barons, who were on her side, and raised an army of eighteen thousand men: a much larger force than her enemies thought she could have assembled; but in order to gain their assistance, she was obliged to promise them liberty of plunder in all parts of England south of the Trent.

Not aware of the numbers she was bringing with her, York hastened to oppose her passage; and leaving Warwick to guard London and the King, he sent his son, the Earl of March, to raise a fresh levy in Wales, and advanced himself, with four or five thousand men, to meet the Queen's army. On entering Yorkshire, he was informed of her superior forces; and throwing himself into his own Castle of Sandal, near Wakefield, in that county, he resolved to wait the arrival of his son, before he attacked her. But this was contrary to the Queen's intention; she approached the castle with part of her army, having concealed the remainder behind a hill, and by her unwomanly reproaches urged him to give her battle.

The Duke possessed much personal courage, and disdaining to appear intimidated by a





woman, he issued forth and engaged her army, contrary to the advice of Salisbury, who was with him in the fortress. After fighting valiantly for several hours he was slain in the field, with many of his friends, and two thousand of his soldiers. Such was the thirst for revenge in these ferocious times, that the Duke's youngest son, Rutland, then about twelve years of age, and who had taken no part in the battle, was cruelly murdered by Lord Clifford, in attempting to make his escape; because that nobleman's father had fallen in the former battle of St. Albans.

The Earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner. Margaret immediately ordered him to be beheaded, and his head and that of the Duke of York's were fixed on the gates of York; the latter wearing a paper crown, in derision of his claim. He possessed some great and amiable qualities; and had not the imbecility of Henry, and the arbitrary measures of Margaret, provoked his ambition, he would have left no stain on his character. But his want of gratitude to the King, who had restored him to his rights and treated him with friendship, his breach of various promises, and his total disregard to his oath, lay him open to the severest censure. It was said of him by the Duke of Somerset, that "had he not learnt to act the king during his regency in France, he would not have forgotten the part

of a subject in England." His death was a just punishment for the distresses he had brought upon his country. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, leaving three sons, Edward Earl of March, George, and Richard; with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

After this important victory the Queen divided her army, and sent a detachment, commanded by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the King's half brother, to meet Edward, the new Duke of York, on his march from Wales, from whence he hasted to revenge his father's death. Margaret proceeded towards London to meet the Earl of Warwick. Pembroke's division was defeated by Edward, at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, with the loss of four thousand men. He escaped by flight, but his father, Sir Owen Tudor, the husband of Henry's mother, was taken prisoner, and beheaded by Edward's order, according to the barbarous rules of retaliation in those ages.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Sir John Grey knighted.—Second Battle of St. Albans.—Death of Sir John Grey.—Henry re-taken by the Royalists.—The Citizens of London refuse to obey the Queen's order.—Edward enters London.—Is chosen King.—Henry's Character.*

ELIZABETH's father, brother, and husband, had joined the Queen's army: the latter of whom she was destined never to see again. After taking an affectionate leave of him, she with her two children joined her mother, the Duchess of Bedford, at Grafton; where they waited, in trembling hope, the event of a battle, which on the death of the Duke of York they hoped would decide the contest in favour of Henry.

Elizabeth heard, with mingled pleasure and apprehension, that the Queen had honoured her husband with knighthood; for while she considered the precariousness of his situation, she could not greatly rejoice in this acquisition of dignity, although she was gratified in knowing that it was for his valour he had received it. The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Norfolk, with Henry in their train, guarded by Lord

Bonvil and Sir Thomas Keriell, advanced to meet the Queen's army. They met near St. Albans, Feb. 17, 1461; and this town was a second time the seat of battle. Six years before, the York party had been victorious on the spot; they were now to experience the reverse of fortune, and were obliged to retreat, with the loss of two thousand men.

In this battle (the sixth fought during these unhappy wars) fell Sir John Grey, the husband of my heroine, who retired to mourn his loss, while her friends were rejoicing in the success of the Queen; which, however, was but of short continuance. The King was retaken by his own party, and joined his wife and son, then eight years of age, in the seat of Lord Clifford. At the desire of the Queen he knighted the young Prince, and thirty other persons who had fought against the army which he had just quitted; but what was much to her dishonour, she caused Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Keriell to be beheaded, although the King had engaged for their safety, on their consenting to accompany him. This was a proof of Margaret's vindictive spirit, and how little the King's authority was regarded by those who were fighting under the pretence of establishing it.

After this unjust act, their Graces proceeded to a monastery in the vicinity, where they sung *Te Deum*, and gave thanks for their victory.

This monastery was built by one of the Saxon Kings, in memory of St. Alban, the first British martyr for the Christian faith; and from whom the town derives its name.

The recollection of his former defeat on this spot, the many changes which had happened since, and the subsequent death of him who had then taken him prisoner, were ample topics of consideration for Henry, and afforded too many proofs of the instability of human affairs to allow him to confide in a long continuance of his present good fortune.

The Queen's forces had pillaged the town and its neighbourhood, and were now in want of provision, she therefore sent to London for a fresh supply from thence. The mayor would have obeyed her orders, but the citizens refused to furnish necessaries for an army which did not come to defend them. Some of the soldiers hastened forward to revenge this insult, but were repulsed, and Margaret, denouncing vengeance on the inhabitants, ordered her army to advance thither. The Duchess of Bedford and Lady Scales, with some of the prelates, went to meet her on the road; and to appease her wrath, they entreated her to allow some of the aldermen of the city to meet her and the King at Barnet, and escort them into town, where several noblemen had engaged to keep the peace with armed forces.

Margaret did not deign to give them an answer; but before she arrived at Barnet, she heard that Edward, with his troops, had joined the defeated army of Warwick, and was proceeding to London through Oxfordshire. On this intelligence she returned to the north, to recruit her army, and took the passive Henry with her. The road was thus left open for Edward to enter the capital, where his bravery, affability, and address, all very popular attractions, had already gained him many friends. He was received by the citizens with the loudest acclamations of joy; and not having the scruples or the caution of his father, he resolved to trust his claim to the decision of the people, rather than to the will of the parliament.

The Earl of Warwick was therefore appointed to harangue the army, and the inhabitants of London, in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell. He read aloud to them the convention between Henry and the late Duke of York, which had been confirmed by act of parliament; and declared the King had forfeited his right to the throne, by violating this agreement.

The above assertion was notoriously false, as Henry had been his prisoner till the battle; and after, falling into Margaret's hands, he was obliged to follow her directions: but as whatever is done in the King's name is accounted his act, whether it is or is not his *will*, Henry was obliged

to bear whatever censure they chose to lay upon him; and the people, tired of so weak a Sovereign, were too well pleased with the manners and appearance of the youthful Edward to dispute the truth of what was said. On being asked, which they would have to reign over them, Henry of Lancaster, or the son of the late Duke of York? they exclaimed, with one voice, "Edward for ever!" and declared him their King.

This popular election was afterwards confirmed by a number of noblemen, prelates, magistrates, and gentlemen of distinction, who met for that purpose at Baynard's Castle, where Edward resided; and on the following day, March 5, 1461, he was proclaimed king, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. who had been crowned King of England and France in his cradle, but had never possessed more than the shade of royalty, although he had been styled a Sovereign almost his whole life.

It has been remarked of him by historians, that never King came so early to the throne, or lost it so long before his death; as he lived twelve years after he was deposed. The loss of his crown was not felt by him, whose quiet manners and devotional habits rendered him more fit for the cloister than to govern a kingdom. He was never known to injure any one: moderate, tem-

perate, and merciful, when he possessed the appearance of power; he was equally calm and patient when deprived of it. His strongest expressions of anger were "forsooth" and "verily;" and when struck by his adversaries, who took him prisoner, his only remark was, "you injure yourself more than you injure me." If his devotional exercises were uninterrupted, he seemed to know no difference between prosperity and adversity. His breach of promise of marriage to the daughter of the Count d'Armagnac, and not endeavouring to punish the murderers of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, were his only faults, if these can be imputed as such, to one so imbecile as scarcely to appear capable of directing his own conduct. Under Providence, it was the people's will that deprived him of the crown, and gave it to Edward; and from his and other examples, princes may learn that their thrones are not secured by long possession, but by actions worthy their exalted station.

The parliament began to assume a greater authority in his reign, and in some measure resisted the power of the Pope, by refusing to admit any foreigner to church preferment, and not allowing the Cardinal of Winchester, who was also his legate, to assist in the King's council, when the supremacy of the church of Rome was the subject of debate.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Accession of Edward IV.—Margaret raises an army to oppose it.—Battle of Tooton.—Overthrow of the Queen's Forces.—Margaret and Henry take Refuge in Scotland.—Edward crowned.—Confiscations in the Lancastrian Party.—Promotion of the Yorkists.—Margaret's Attempt to recover the Kingdom.—Her Defeat at the Battle of Hexham.—Assisted by a Robber.—She flies to France with her Son.—Henry returns to Scotland.*

EDWARD IV. was twenty years old when he ascended the throne: his father's rebellion had prepared the way for his advancement, and the attractions of his person, influenced the people's choice. His character was a mixture of voluptuous affections, with the ferocious cruelty of that barbarous age in which he lived. His affability and condescension to his subjects, were stained with licentiousness and revenge; and so jealous was he of his title to the throne, (though placed on it by the suffrages of the people,) that the scaffold streamed with blood, while his accession was celebrated with all the pageantry of pomp, and the revelry of pleasure.

All whom he suspected of being inimical to his claim, were sacrificed to his fears; and he caused the death of a tradesman who had jestingly said "he would make his son heir to the *crown*," (which was the sign of his shop,) because he imagined that he meant to ridicule his title to the kingdom.

Edward had not been acknowledged King more than eight days, before he was obliged to assemble his forces in order to meet Margaret, who had so well used her influence in the North, as to collect sixty thousand men devoted to her service. The followers of Edward were equally attached to his cause, or probably rather to their own interest, since the adherents of one party could not at that time expect any quarter from the other, or that the lives and fortunes of the vanquished, would not be sacrificed to the resentment of the conquerors.

The army of King Edward was considerably less in number than that of his opposer, but they were determined men, experienced in war, and headed by himself and the Earl of Warwick. The license Margaret was obliged to grant her troops, in order to support them, alarmed the inhabitants of the south of England, and strengthened their determination against her. On hearing of the King's approach, Margaret gave the command of the army to the Duke of Somerset, whose father had fallen in the first

battle of St. Alban's, while fighting for her cause. She retired with her husband and son to York to wait the result of an engagement, which was either to destroy, or fix their hopes of regaining the crown.

Edward, on his arrival at Pontefract in Yorkshire, sent forward Lord Fitzwalter with a detachment to secure the pass of Ferry Bridge, on the river Aire, which was between him and the hostile forces. Having seized the passage, this nobleman was driven back by superior numbers sent from Somerset's army, under the command of Lord Clifford, and lost his life in endeavouring to regain it. Far from being discouraged by this check, Edward commanded his army to advance, and after giving to all who were afraid, full liberty to quit the field, he denounced the severest vengeance on all who should turn their backs in the battle.

Murder was literally the order of the day, for the King commanded that no quarter should be given, and that every man should kill all who opposed him. The Earl of Warwick who was strenuously attached to his cause, stabbed the horse upon which he rode, and enthusiastically kissing the hilt of his sword, declared he would lose his life in his defence, and share the dangers of the day with the meanest soldier. Alas! what dependance can be placed on the promises of men? A few years afterwards, Warwick be-

came the determined enemy of Edward, and he shed his blood in fighting for his opposers.

The pass of Ferry Bridge was retaken by Lord Falconbergh, and the death of Fitzwalter revenged by that of Clifford,\* who had formerly murdered the innocent Rutland.

The hostile armies met at Tooton in Yorkshire, on Sunday morning, March 29th, 1461, and the King's forces gained a complete victory. The weather was favourable to their success, as a fall of snow driven in the faces of their adversaries prevented their seeing them approach, till they were within bow shot, and the archers having discharged their arrows, returned unmolested to their ranks, beyond the reach of their enemies' shafts which were spent in vain, and even returned by the opposite party when their own quivers were exhausted. A closer combat ensued, and decided the contest in favour of Edward, whose personal bravery, and that of the Earl of Warwick, greatly contributed to the success of his arms.

\* The widow of this nobleman fled with her only son into Westmoreland, where he was bred as a shepherd's boy. At the age of twenty-five years Henry VII. restored him to the earldom, but he preferred the shepherd's life, and continued in obscurity. His son was created Duke of Cumberland by Henry VIII. (whose niece he had married,) and his grandson, who inherited the latter title, afterwards signalized himself at the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in the reign of Elizabeth.

The small river Coe, which runs into the Warf, was stained with the blood of the Lancastrians, and made fordable by their dead bodies which fell under the swords of their pursuers, till they formed a mound for the fugitives to pass over.

Above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in this sanguinary battle; among them were the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, the Lords Dacres and Wells, with Sir John Nevil, brother to the Earl of Westmoreland, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The Duke of Somerset, and the Duke of Exeter, who, although he had married one of Edward's sisters, took part with the Lancastrians, escaped with difficulty, and fled into Scotland with the unfortunate Henry and his Queen. The Earl of Devonshire, who had formerly been attached to the York party, was taken prisoner, and brought before Edward, who immediately ordered him to be beheaded. His head was placed on the gates of York, from whence those of the late Duke of York, and the Earl of Salisbury, were taken down and buried. The victorious King pursued his enemies as far as Newcastle, and then, knowing he had little to fear from the succours they might obtain from the Scots, during the minority of their King, James III. he returned to his palace at Richmond, and endeavoured to expel the remembrance of the late dreadful day from the minds of his people, by



making splendid preparations for his coronation, which took place on the 20th June, 1461.

A parliament was called, which fully confirmed his title to the throne, and designated "the meek and moralizing Henry" an usurper, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and inherited the crown from his father.

The estates of the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls Northumberland, Devonshire, Pembroke and Wiltshire, with those of several other noblemen, were confiscated to the crown; and these accumulated riches, served to support the licentious luxuries of the new made king.

Among those who suffered confiscation was the family of Sir John Grey, whose youthful widow Elizabeth, and her sons, became by this event dependant on her father, Sir Richard Woodville, who either through the interest of his wife, or because he was not supposed to be very warmly attached to the House of Lancaster, was allowed to remain unmolested. In the society of her parents and her children, on the spot where he for whom she mourned, had gained her early affections, Elizabeth passed the years of her widowhood. Every thing she saw, recalled her lamented husband to her remembrance, and the double loss she had sustained by the defeat of the Lancastrians.

At this time, Edward created his brother George, Duke of Clarence, and his younger



brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, little imagining the cruel and atrocious crimes which he was even then planning in the secret recesses of his heart. Lord Falconbergh was made Earl of Kent; Henry Bouchier the King's uncle, Earl of Essex; and the brother of the Earl of Warwick was created Baron Montague.

During Margaret's retreat in Scotland, she formed a contract of marriage between her son and the infant sister of James III. and in order to gain the assistance of that nation, she promised to cede to them the town of Berwick, if she succeeded in recovering her rights. Leaving her husband in their protection, she then went into France to solicit the assistance of Louis XI. to whom she was nearly related, being the niece of his mother; but this monarch was too deeply engaged in a design to reduce the power of his nobles, and form an arbitrary government, to afford her much aid. However he promised protection in his kingdom to all who espoused her cause, and advanced her a sum of money, with which she hired soldiers and returned to Scotland, where also Edward had a strong party on his side, headed by the Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles.

Margaret's first attempt was to land her hired troops at Tinmouth in Northumberland, but a storm dispersing her fleet, the transports returned to France, and it was with difficulty that she

arrived at the port of Berwick. Not to be intimidated by this delay, she again implored the aid of Louis, and on her engaging to deliver up to him the town of Calais if she gained the day, he sent an army of two thousand men, with which she was again enabled to take the field. In the year 1463, she entered Northumberland, attended by a considerable body of freebooters, whom the promise of plunder had engaged on her side, and was met by Baron Montague, whom the King had sent forward to oppose her passage, while he followed with a larger army.

Montague encountered part of her troops on Hedgely Moor, and defeated them; among whom, Sir Ralph Piercy, who had returned to Margaret's party, was slain. Encouraged by this success, Montague hastened to meet the Queen's army before Edward should arrive, that he might himself have all the honour of the victory, and coming upon them unawares at Hexham, he obtained a complete conquest.

The Duke of Somerset was taken prisoner, and the fugitive royal family were so closely pursued, that many of their attendants were seized. Among others, he who carried the cap of state of the deposed king was taken, and this last relick of Henry's royalty, fell into Edward's hands.

Somerset was beheaded, with five other noblemen, at Newcastle; twelve more lost their





lives at York, and their estates were divided among the conquerors. Lord Montague was created Earl of Northumberland, but as a younger brother of the house of Piercy afterwards submitted to the king, the earldom was restored to him, and Montague resumed his former title.

Thus ended the battle of Hexham, the ninth which had been fought in the space of thirteen years. It seemed to decide the fate of the unfortunate royal family, and preclude all hopes of their recovering the crown. Three castles which Margaret had fortified in the North,—Bambergh, Dunstanbergh, and Alnwick, were retaken by the victorious party: that of Alnwick, which was defended by French troops, held out the longest, but at last surrendered to Edward's army, and the soldiers retreated into Scotland.

The well-known anecdote of Margaret's taking refuge with her son in a forest after the fatal battle of Hexham, and being robbed of all her jewels, has been so often recorded, that it can scarcely be new to any of my readers; yet it affords so remarkable an instance of her intrepidity, and of greatness of mind in the robber to whom she committed the care of the Prince, that I cannot pass it unnoticed.

After escaping from one party while they were disputing about the division of the riches they had taken from her, she saw another robber advancing towards her, with a drawn sword in

his hand: she boldly approached him, and presenting the young Edward to him, said, "My friend, I commit to your care the safety of your King's son." Struck by her magnanimity, and pleased with the confidence she reposed in him, he vowed to devote himself to her service.

The Queen and her son, then about ten years of age, were supported by him in the forest till the search of their pursuers were over; he then conducted them to the sea coast, and procured them a passage into Flanders, whither those few of her scattered adherents who had escaped the vengeance of the enemy had gone before. The unfortunate Henry took refuge in Scotland.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Henry ventures to appear in England.—Impri-  
soned in the Tower.—Edward's ascendancy over  
his people.—Proposal of Marriage with Bona.—  
Marries the Lady Elizabeth Grey.—Indigna-  
tion of Louis.—Warwick's Resentment.—Eli-  
zabeth crowned.—Elevation of her Family.—  
Jealousy of the Nobles.*

MARGARET was kindly received in Flanders by the Duke of Burgundy, who had, during the regency of the Duke of Bedford, married Isabel



of Portugal, a near relation of Henry VI. From thence she passed with her son, now her only consolation, to the court of her father at Rennes in Brittany, where she spent some years in retirement. Happy would it have been for herself and England, could her enterprising spirit there have been lulled to rest: but though abandoned by her allies she did not despair of recovering the kingdom. The changes of fortune which she had already seen, far from checking her hopes, raised an expectation that its wheel might again turn in her favour.

Her weak and dispirited husband, found the Scots less inclined to assist his cause, after the last fatal overthrow; and on his hearing that the archbishop of St. Andrews had been sent to negotiate a truce between the Kings of England and Scotland, in which it was to be agreed that neither of them should assist the enemies of the other; Henry concluded he was no longer safe in Edinburgh, and left it in disguise attended by two ecclesiastics.

After this he found a refuge at Waddington Hall in Lancashire, the seat of one of his adherents, where he spent nearly a twelvemonth, quietly pursuing the acts of devotion to which he had been accustomed; little concerned about what was passing in the world, and still less inclined to enter again upon the stage of action.

At length he was discovered by Sir James

Harrington, one of the King's friends, and by him taken prisoner to London.

Not content with having secured the person of this harmless enemy, the unfeeling man treated him with the utmost indignity. His legs were tied together under the body of the horse on which he rode, as if he had been the worst of criminals. The Earl of Warwick met the deposed monarch on the road, and added to the degradation he had already received, by reviling him in the most opprobrious language; he even encouraged the multitudes which followed him, to insult their fallen King. Such conduct will appear to every thinking mind, a greater disgrace to Warwick, than to the unoffending person he thus insulted.

Henry discovered no resentment, and owed his life to the meekness of his disposition, rather than to the compassion of his rival, who imagined he had nothing to fear from one whose courage and understanding he held in infinite contempt.

Henry was committed to the Tower, where by his mild and quiet manners, he gained the affection of the Governor, and was permitted to spend his time as he liked.

At this time, two of his principal adherents, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, were living in obscure indigence in Flanders, where they were obliged to conceal themselves to avoid being taken by Edward's spies. It is said by

historians, that they were seen as errand-carriers to the meanest of the people, running barefooted through the streets in the depth of winter, till the Duke of Burgundy discovering their situation allowed them each a pension.

It was now thought necessary for Edward to marry, to secure the succession to his offspring, and three princesses were proposed for his acceptance. The first was Margaret of Scotland, who had formerly been betrothed to Edward, the son of Henry, but was yet too young for marriage. The same cause prevented his chusing Isabel of Castile, afterwards married to Ferdinand of Arragon; and Bona of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France, appeared to be the most suitable alliance. In 1464, the Earl of Warwick was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, where this Princess resided, to demand her in marriage for his King. Louis readily listened to the proposal, as he hoped by this union to prevent Edward's affording assistance to the powerful nobles, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, with whom he was contending.

The marriage contract was drawn up, and Louis appointed one of his nobles as plenipotentiary at the court of London, to finish the negotiation; but an extraordinary event defeated his intention, and afforded to the world another

instance of the instability of the human mind, and of what is called the caprice of fortune.

Early in 1465, Edward was invited by one of his nobles, with whom he lived in the closest amity, to a hunting-party in Northamptonshire; and while there, paid a visit to the Duchess of Bedford. At this time Elizabeth, the subject of these memoirs, had been a widow nearly four years, with no other prospect for herself and sons, but the continuance of obscurity and dependance; till their age and strength should enable them to maintain themselves, and support her.

She was about the same age as the King, and on hearing that he was in the house, she formed the resolution of appearing before him, to implore part of her husband's confiscated estate, for the support of herself and children. The sight of so beautiful a woman, as Elizabeth is described to have been, in deep mourning, and in distress, made a powerful impression on the heart of the youthful Monarch. She held a child in each hand, and directing them to kneel at his feet, with many tears she implored his compassion for them, her helpless and unoffending offspring.

The King assured her of his favour, but the terms on which he proposed to grant her request were such as she could not accede to, with







honour to herself. Although many ladies had yielded to his solicitations, Elizabeth had too much virtue to become his mistress. She refused his offer, and was about to retire: "Her suit was at an end." But the King still more charmed by her rejection, which proved her mind as worthy of his esteem as her person was of his admiration, became, to use the words of Hume, "a suitor in his turn." Lost to every thing but the charms of Elizabeth—regardless of the impropriety of such an union—and, above all, forgetting the treaty of marriage Warwick was then negotiating for him, he offered to share his throne with her, who seemed so well formed to grace an exalted station.

It cannot be doubted that he was a successful wooer:—interest, ambition, his personal attractions, all contributed to make Elizabeth lend a willing ear. She was grateful for the honour he designed her: and in a few days the marriage was privately solemnized in her father's house.

Thus was Elizabeth raised from a state of comparative penury, to the highest station: and her father's family, on whom she had lately been dependant, were now looking towards her for advancement. She saw herself the beloved Queen of a powerful Monarch, with no cloud to darken her bright horizon: for when does youth and beauty, in possession of so much beyond their hope or expectation, look towards the

lurking change which is yet hid from their view, and perceived by none but those who have too often traced the approach of storms from the rising cloud, "small as a man's hand," to the full fury of its vengeance, to be deceived by the promise of continual sunshine?

Edward concealed his marriage from all but his mother, the Duchess of York, who was then residing at Baynard's Castle, and under whose auspices he wished to introduce his new-made bride to the rest of his family.

At first, his mother was unwilling to believe he had acted so imprudently. She represented to him the danger he was in from the anger of Louis; and the resentment of Warwick, on his sending him to negotiate a marriage which could not now take place. Edward pretended to think lightly of these fears; he maintained that he had a right to raise whom he would to his throne, and having silenced the scruples of the Duchess, he introduced his bride, and gave orders for her coronation.

The news of this event soon spread as far as France, and was heard with indignation by Louis and Warwick. The affairs of his own nation would not permit the former to declare openly his resentment, till a more favourable opportunity; and Warwick returned to England equally incensed, but with the same dissimulation; he endeavoured to conceal his anger till time should offer him an occasion to seek revenge. The King

saw his displeasure, but acted with equal caution in not noticing it, and soon after sent him on an embassy, with the Lords Hastings and Wenlock, to Boulogne, to form a treaty of commerce with the Duke of Burgundy.

Elizabeth's beauty and unassuming manners gained her universal admiration; and the King was gratified in proportion as her loveliness was acknowledged by his courtiers. Her coronation took place on the 20th of May, 1645, with great pomp and magnificence; and his affection for her was shewn in the promotion of her family, who shared his favour to the exclusion of almost every other person. Her father was created Earl of Rivers, and afterwards appointed Lord Treasurer, and High Constable, for life; with the reversion of that exalted station to his son Anthony, who was married to the only daughter and heiress of Lord Scales, and had that title conferred upon him. Her sister Catherine was married to the young Duke of Buckingham, a ward of the crown; her sister Mary to the Earl of Huntingdon; and her sister Anne to the son and heir of Lord Grey, of Ruthven, who was created Earl of Kent on the occasion.

The daughter and heiress of the Duke of Exeter, (whose father I have already mentioned, as having married a sister of the King, and who was then abroad in the greatest distress,) was affianced to one of Elizabeth's sons by her for-

mer husband. He received the title of Lord Grey, and her other son was created Marquess of Dorset, and afterwards married the heiress of Lord Bonvil.

The affiance between Lord Grey and the King's neice, was considered as another insult offered to the Earl of Warwick, as the son of his brother, Lord Montague, had been named for the future husband of that Lady. The sudden rise of the Woodville family excited the jealousy of all the nobility, though none was more incensed at it than Warwick, by whose power Edward had been placed on the throne. He had so long enjoyed the sunshine of his favour that he could not willingly share it with others. As a reward for his services, Warwick had received grants from the crown, which, in addition to his other estates, made his annual income eighty thousand crowns. Edward began to be jealous of the power such a fortune procured him, and justified the partiality he had shewn to the Queen's relations, by the political excuse of its being necessary to crush the rising power of Warwick.

Most of the court joined in the discontent of the Earl: even the King's brothers were not so subservient to his will as to approve of his thus ennobling an obscure family; and Elizabeth soon found that her elevation had made her an object of jealousy, and that the crown she wore was but as a mark for envy to shoot her shafts at.

She did not endeavour to inflame her husband's resentment against those who treated her with contempt, but, secure in his, and her family's attention, she passed the first years of her royalty in comparative happiness.

Shakspeare has well depicted the taunts of the Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother, to whom she was more peculiarly an object of malice; and the words which the bard had placed in her mouth, are strongly expressive of her feelings and situation.—

“ I had rather be a country servant maid  
Than a great queen with this condition;  
To be thus taunted, scorned, and baited at.  
Small joy have I in being England's queen !”

“ Poor painted Queen! vain flourish of my fortune!” was the appellation Shakspeare makes Margaret give her, yet while her husband lived she knew no diminution of his regard. Although his affection for her could not enable him to resist his prevailing passion for other women, it was Elizabeth he loved, and in her he confided. She was a striking instance of the power of beauty and innocence, and Edward was a person likely to be attracted by them. Women may captivate for a time by art and studied attentions, but native worth and disinterested affection can alone procure them permanent esteem,



## CHAPTER X.

*Birth of Princess Elizabeth.—Marriage of the King's Sister.—Affairs of France.—Animosities in the Court of England.—Extortion of Rivers.—Warwick's Disaffection.—Marriage of Clarence.—Death of Lord Rivers.—Reconciliation between the King and Warwick.—Uneasiness of the Queen's Party.—Their Artifice to disunite them.*

IN the next year, 1466, the Princess Elizabeth was born, who was afterwards the wife of Henry VII. in whose offspring were united the Houses of York and Lancaster. The Duke of Burgundy, though secretly attached to the latter family, on observing Edward firmly seated on the throne of England, thought it best to court his friendship, and proposed a marriage between Edward's sister, Margaret, and his son, the Count de Charolois, otherwise called Charles the Bold, who had just then buried his second wife.

Edward also received overtures of friendship from Louis, who, though he had by no means forgotten the affront offered to his sister Bona, thought it necessary still to dissemble, lest Ed-



ward should assist his enemies, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, whose power in their respective dominions he had resolved to crush. Edward was equally wary, and amused both parties, by receiving their proposals, without declaring decidedly which side he would take.

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, dying in 1467, his son, Charles, succeeded to the dukedom, and warmly entered on the defence of the Duke of Brittany, on whom, as being the least powerful, Louis had begun his attack. He renewed the treaty of alliance with Edward, and soon afterwards married the Princess Margaret, who was accompanied into his dominions by several ladies of distinction.

At the instigation of his new brother-in-law, Edward sent a body of archers, under the command of Lord Scales, the Queen's brother, to assist the Duke of Brittany, although he was at the same time engaged in a pretended negotiation for a perpetual peace with Louis, who was fighting against that prince.

In the mean time the animosities of the English Court prevailed. Warwick and his family were every day declining in the King's favour. The Earl was no longer employed in any office of importance; his brother Montague was kept at a distance, as Warder of the Scottish Marshes; and the Archbishop of York, another brother, was deprived of the chancellorship, without any

cause being assigned, and that office given to a favourite of the Queen.

The Earl of Rivers, her father, now began to make himself very obnoxious, to the displeasure of the people, by arresting several who were accused of corresponding with Margaret, the late Queen, and the Duke of Somerset. He laid heavy fines on them, and enriched himself and his family by various exactions from all whom he thought were attached to their party. Nor was the Queen herself entirely exempt from blame, since it is said by the historian, Smollet, that she shared with them these extorted riches.

In 1468 the Earl of Pembroke, half brother to Henry VI. raised a small party in Wales, on his behalf. These were soon defeated by Lord Herbert, whose son had married one of the Queen's sisters. Herbert was created Earl of Pembroke for this service, and enjoyed the forfeited estates and titles of him whom he had overcome. Two of the opposite party were executed by the order of Rivers, in his office of High Constable, and a false charge was brought against Warwick, of having promoted the insurrection. The Earl thoroughly cleared himself from this accusation ; but it added to his hatred of the Woodville family, and made it necessary for them to seek a reconciliation with him on finding that the generality of the people were on his side.

At the King's request the two parties met, and a seeming accommodation took place between Warwick and Lord Rivers, with little sincerity on either part. The former breathed only revenge in his heart, and as soon as the conference was over, he hastened to Calais, of which place he still retained the government. After this, knowing the animosity of the King's brothers to the Queen and her family, he proposed a marriage to the Duke of Clarence with his daughter Isabel, one of the handsomest and most accomplished women of the age. The Duke (who after the Princess Elizabeth was the presumptive heir to the throne) accepted the proposal, and much against the inclination of the King, they were married at Calais.

In the following year 1469, the Earl of Warwick, (who during his friendship for Edward's father, had been initiated in all the intrigues of rebellion) appears to have fermented an insurrection in Yorkshire, in order to try the minds of the people in that extensive county.

Apparently this tumult arose from their being *constrained* to support by contributions, the hospital of St. Leonard, near York. They resisted this arbitrary proceeding, and Montague, who commanded some of the King's forces, opposed and killed their leader, commonly called Robin of Reddesdale; but the people, secretly encouraged by Warwick, who still continued at

Calais, chose two other leaders, Sir Henry Nevil and Sir John Conyers, under whose direction they marched into Northamptonshire. The King ordered the new Earl of Pembroke to go against them with twelve thousand Welshmen, assisted by the Earl of Devonshire, at the head of five thousand archers.

The latter had but newly succeeded to his title, which had belonged to the attainted family of Courtenay. These newly created nobles quarrelled about their quarters: and Pembroke hazarding an engagement at Banbury in Oxfordshire without his colleague, was defeated and slain.

In revenge for the death of one of their leaders who had been taken, and killed in cold blood by the opposite party, the rebels allowed no quarter to their enemies, and five thousand Welshmen were slain on the spot. The Earl of Devonshire was, on his return, beheaded by the King's order, who supposed him not true to his cause; and the Earl of Rivers, with his youngest son John, were taken from their house at Grafton, and beheaded at Northampton by Sir John Conyers, in retaliation for the death of his companion in arms, Sir Henry Nevil.

Thus the sanguinary scenes of former years seemed to be again reviving; and England appeared only to have been at rest, till she had recovered strength to renew those contests, which had formerly drenched her fields in blood.

Warwick, and his son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, came over to England, and offered their assistance to quell the rebellion. However suspicious the King might be that it was raised by them, he thought fit to dissemble, and accepted their aid; the power of Warwick was too great for him to resist, he therefore attempted to conciliate, and bestowed on him all the offices in Wales, vacant by the death of the Earl of Pembroke.

Tranquillity was once more restored, and by the advice of Warwick, a general pardon was granted to Sir John Conyers and his followers, who at this time amounted to sixty thousand men.

It being reported that Margaret and her son were in Normandy, waiting to take advantage of the troubles in England and make a descent on the island, commissions of array were issued to raise the militia in the counties bordering the coast; and Anthony, now Lord Rivers, the Queen's brother, was sent to sea with a strong squadron to prevent their approach.

Still farther to conciliate the Nevil family, a treaty of marriage was negotiated between the son of Lord Montague and the infant Princess Elizabeth, then four years of age; and the young nobleman was created Duke of Bedford by the King's patent.

Elizabeth had now still greater cause to say, "small joy have I in being England's Queen."

Her father and one of her brothers, had fallen victims to the rebel party: too well she guessed at whose instigation! Her husband, though King, had no power to avenge their deaths, and had been obliged to pardon their murderers. Her elder brother was engaged in a dangerous service, and she saw the enemy of her family fast advancing to reinstate himself in the King's favour.

If family affection can be mentioned as a fault, it is in a Queen, who should be more concerned for the interests of the nation than to seek, at the expense of the people, the aggrandisement of her relations; it was the only thing for which Elizabeth, in her public character, merited censure. In private life she was irreproachable: possessing much of the King's confidence, she was often admitted to his council, in which she too often justified many of the arbitrary and severe acts of her father. Having obtained great influence over her husband, she used it to the advancement of her own family, and the exclusion of the other nobility. It is probable that she wished to establish the interest of her relations, in order to secure the crown to her children by their means; but her anxious desire defeated its own purpose. Thus often does short sighted man fight against himself, and frustrate what he is endeavouring to establish!

The ministry, who were all in the Queen's



interest, and who dreaded a revival of the king's partiality to the house of Nevil, thought of an expedient to break off the union which seemed to be commencing.

The King had accepted an invitation from the Archbishop of York to partake of an entertainment at his seat in Hertfordshire. While washing his hands before supper, one of his followers, instructed for the occasion, whispered to him that several armed men were in the house, who were to secure his person, and convey him as a prisoner to Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, the residence of the Earl of Warwick. Not considering the improbability of such an attempt, Edward took the alarm, and without assigning any reason he left the company, and mounting his horse, rode with all speed to Windsor, where he found the Queen overjoyed at his return: she expressed her happiness at his escape from a conspiracy, which she might have persuaded herself there was some reason to apprehend.

The abrupt departure of the King from the feast, was considered as another affront offered to the Nevil family. They were at no loss to construe the reason afterwards assigned for such conduct: it was a scheme concerted by their enemies, again to lessen them in the King's opinion. Their former enmity was renewed, and both sides reproached each other with increased malignity.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Warwick's Rebellion.—Louis receives him in France.—Warwick espouses the cause of Margaret.—Marriage of his Daughter with her Son.—Invades England.—Edward's flight.—Restoration of Henry.—Birth of Edward, Prince of Wales.—Restoration of the Lancastrian Party.*

AT the instigation of the Duchess of York, who endeavoured to reconcile the offended parties, the King met his brother Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, at her house in 1470, and once more granted them commissions of array to raise forces in the counties of Warwickshire and Leicestershire. These were to quell another insurrection raised in Lincolnshire on account of oppression, and headed by the son of Lord Willes; but it was afterwards discovered that Warwick himself had promoted this disturbance.

Edward's cruel disposition was seen on this occasion, by his ordering the death of Lord Willes, though he had taken no part in the rebellion, and had been drawn from the sanctuary in which he had taken refuge, by the promise of safety. The King engaged him to write a letter

to his son, containing a promise of pardon if he would lay down his arms. The young man refused to listen to any proposals, and in revenge, Edward ordered his father and another nobleman whose son was also engaged in the rebellion, to be beheaded: this so exasperated the rebel troops, that they hazarded an engagement with the King's forces, and after an obstinate battle they were defeated.

In the mean time Warwick and Clarence were engaged in raising men, with whom they intended to join the disaffected party, but hearing of their defeat, and not finding others so willing to unite with them as they expected, they threw up the commissions which they had received from the King, and embarked for Calais.

Edward was now fully apprised of their treachery; he ordered them to be proclaimed traitors, and offered a reward to any who should apprehend them. On their arriving at the port of Calais they were refused entrance by Vaucler, a Gascon, whom Warwick had left to govern in his absence. In excuse for his conduct he found means to inform his master that he was still attached to his interest, but knowing the fortress to be ill prepared for a siege, he thought it best to appear as his enemy, lest Edward or the Duke of Burgundy with whom he was in alliance should attack it, and by this means he hoped to secure it to the Earl, when the times

should be more favourable to him. By thus temporizing, the crafty Gascon become the supposed friend of both parties, and it is probable, intended to declare for the strongest at a proper opportunity: Edward rewarded him by giving him the government of the place, and the Duke of Burgundy allowed him a pension. Warwick was compelled to submit, and apparently to believe him; he sought a refuge with his son-in-law at the court of France, where Louis kindly received them. During their voyage from England, a son was born to the Duchess of Clarence, who had accompanied her husband and father; he afterwards succeeded to the title of his maternal grandfather, and was beheaded in the reign of Henry VII.

Enraged at the alliance of Edward with the Duke of Burgundy, the smothered resentment of the King of France began to break forth; he gladly received Warwick, by whose means he hoped to increase the troubles in England, and promote the interest of Margaret and her son, who were then in his court: through his means, these foes, formerly so hateful to each other, became reconciled, and the haughty Margaret stooped to receive the offered friendship of Warwick, who now openly declared himself the enemy of Edward. In token of their amity, a marriage was concluded between Margaret's son Edward, (still called Prince of Wales) and Anne,

the youngest daughter of Warwick: by this union the latter Earl became equally allied to the houses of York and Lancaster; the Prince was then eighteen, and the marriage took place immediately.

The father of Warwick had been put to death by Margaret's order; he had himself twice reduced Henry to captivity, and had been the cause of innumerable evils to the unhappy family of Lancaster and their followers; but these once determined enemies were now united by the firmest bonds for unstable man, those of necessity.

The Duke of Burgundy informed Edward of this incongruous alliance, who far from being alarmed at it, and secure in his own popularity, concluded he had nothing to fear from an enemy who had so lately been obliged to quit the kingdom, on not finding supporters in it. He abandoned himself to the pleasures he was pursuing, and suffered his ministry to commit acts of cruelty and oppression in his name, on all whom they supposed favoured the interest of Warwick or that of the house of Lancaster. The cause of the latter was warmly espoused by Louis; he furnished money and troops with which Warwick sailed for England, to proclaim Henry VI. King, and restore him to the throne. The weakness of this Monarch, who still continued in the Tower, caused him to be totally overlooked by his ene-

mies, and they appeared to have no apprehension of what was coming against them.

At this time Edward had a secret emissary in the family of the Duke of Clarence. One of the ladies who attended on the Duchess was employed by him to persuade the Duke to leave the enemies of his brother, and return to his allegiance to him as King: he had engaged so to do, and only waited a fit opportunity to accomplish his purpose. Warwick had also made the same proposal to Montague his brother, who was still in the service of the King, and had received from him a similar promise: both, therefore, were secretly intending to revolt from one party, and to join the other.

In the mean time Warwick with his squadron had escaped a fleet sent out by the Duke of Burgundy to intercept his passage, and landed safely in England, at Dartmouth in Devonshire, in September, 1470.

In the same month Lord Fitzhugh, who had married a sister of the Earl, raised an insurrection in his favour, which Edward was advancing to repel when he heard of the landing of Warwick; at first he affected to rejoice at it, thinking he should the more easily secure his person, but in a few days he discovered his mistake.

Warwick was immediately joined by sixty thousand men; he declared himself fighting for King Henry, and ordered all the subjects of that







Monarch to take arms against Edward the usurper. At the approach of Edward, Fitzhugh retired into Scotland, and the King returned towards London: it was Warwick's aim to come to an engagement with him before he reached the capital, where Edward had his principal adherents.

He therefore advanced as far as Nottingham to meet him, and prepared to give him battle. Edward had entrusted the command of six thousand men to Montague the Earl's brother, lately created a Marquess, who followed at a distance, apparently to reinforce the King, but his real intention was to unite his forces with those of his brother. As Warwick advanced in front, the Marquess drew nearer in the rear, and Edward was surprised and nearly taken in the midst of his camp. Alarmed to hear around him the cries of "Long live King Henry," he called a council of war, in which his officers, and particularly Lord Hastings his chamberlain, advised him to save himself by flight. Though Edward was naturally courageous, he was not rash; his army was greatly reduced by the defection of Montague, and he knew not whom he might trust: he could not hope to overcome Warwick's numerous forces, and therefore yielded to their entreaties. Accompanied by his brother Gloucester and eight hundred horsemen, he fled in the night to Lynn in Norfolk, from whence he embarked with his brother for Flanders; but so

precipitate was his haste, that he had nothing with which to reward the master of the vessel which carried him over, but a rich cloak lined with sable, and this he took from his own shoulders to give to him.

The next morning his army surrendered to Warwick, who hastened to London and removed the quiet and ill-fated Henry from the Tower to the Bishop's palace. Scarcely conscious of what was doing in his favour, he was a second time proclaimed King, on the 6th of October, 1470.

At this time Elizabeth, Edward's Queen, took refuge with her daughter and the Duchess of York, in the sanctuary of Westminster; in this retirement Prince Edward was born, who might have been justly called "the child of misfortune:" in our future pages we shall relate his melancholy fate. Seyerall of Edward's friends also availed themselves of the security these places afforded: their imagined sanctity precluded all search for delinquents under their protection, and the Queen, surrounded by her own party, was treated with the respect and attention her situation required.

This surprising revolution was accomplished without bloodshed, and in the course of eleven days Henry was again placed on the throne.

A total change was made in all the offices of state; the judges, sheriffs, and coroners through-

out the kingdom were displaced, and new ones appointed in their room. Only one life was sacrificed to the public resentment; this was that of the Earl of Worcester, who by his cruel conduct as a minister, had been named "the butcher."

The Earl of Warwick became again high admiral of England, and Clarence was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Archbishop of York was a second time appointed chancellor, and the Prior of St. John's monastery, treasurer. Edward was declared a traitor and usurper, his estates were confiscated, and all his acts as King were repealed; his brother Gloucester with his adherents were also attainted: the crown was settled on Henry and his male issue, but in case of their deaths it was to descend to the Duke of Clarence and his children.

The Duke, who as yet had found no opportunity of executing his promise to his brother, was put into possession of the estates and honours of his father, the late Duke of York, and he and Warwick were appointed protectors of the realm, during the life of the King and the minority of his son.

The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls Oxford, Pembroke, and other noblemen, were restored to their titles and estates; and a compensation of two and twenty thousand marks from the estate of Anthony, Lord Rivers, was

allowed to Sir Thomas Cook, a person who had been cruelly oppressed and prosecuted by that nobleman's father.

Thus the house of Lancaster seemed again established on the throne, and the passive Henry once more appeared with the ensigns of royalty, though in reality he was as much under the controul of others, as when a prisoner in the Tower.

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## CHAPTER XII.

*Edward takes refuge with the Duke of Burgundy.—Returns to his Kingdom.—Enters London.—Imprisons Henry.—Battle of Barnet.—Death of Warwick and Montague.—Margaret arrives in England.—Battle of Tewksbury.—Death of young Edward.—Imprisonment of Margaret.—Death of Henry.*

THE fugitive Edward did not find a very cordial reception at the court of his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, who, already engaged in a war with Louis, feared to draw on himself the resentment of England also, by assisting one who had been declared an usurper in that king-



dom. Yet on account of his wife, who warmly espoused the cause of her brother, and the chance there might be of his restoration, he endeavoured to compromise the matter, and while he secretly afforded him aid, by advancing a sum of money and hiring ships and troops in Holland which were to embark in his service, he pretended to refuse him shelter, and forbade any of his subjects to assist him on pain of death.

In the month of March 1471, Edward returned to his kingdom, (after he had been absent nearly six months) with the small force of fifteen hundred men, partly English and partly Flemish, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Not finding himself so well received there as he expected, he declared himself the liege subject of Henry, and that his only demand was, to be restored to the dukedom of his father. Among the citizens of York he had many friends, and instigated by their entreaties, and the avowal of Edward, the magistrates allowed him to enter the city from which he claimed his title. Here, according to the political *conscienc*es of some men, who seem, in affairs of state, to allow themselves to profess whatever they think will advance their design, without considering it a crime to endeavor to deceive, he entered the Cathedral, and by a solemn oath confirmed his former protestations of allegiance to Henry, and his determination to abide by the decisions of parliament, respecting

his claim to the inheritance he demanded. Having thus obtained possession of the city, he secretly borrowed money of his friends, and when his army was sufficiently increased, he marched with them towards London, still declaring that he had no treasonable intention.

As soon as the news of his landing had reached the court, Warwick, Clarence and Montague were ordered to raise forces to repel the invader; the Earl of Pembroke also had a commission of array granted him: this title was now restored to its former possessor, the half-brother of Henry.

It appears that Edward had still some friends in the Nevil family, since the Marquis of Montague, who had been sent to intercept his march to York, allowed him to pass unmolested within four miles of where he was stationed; and on his appearing before London, the Archbishop of York, another brother of the Earl of Warwick, who was then chancellor, and had the care of Henry, allowed him to enter the city without opposition, and to seize the person of that ill-fated King; though to save his credit with the other party, the archbishop was imprisoned for a few days, and then restored to liberty and the favour of Edward.

Warwick had marched to Coventry with a view of engaging Edward before he approached the metropolis, but was prevented giving him battle by a letter from his son-in-law Clarence,

desiring him not to come to an engagement till he should join him with his forces. Owing to his delay, which was probably intentional on the part of Clarence, Edward arrived in London without interruption, where he had many friends. The sanctuaries of London and Westminster alone, contained above two thousand of his adherents, and several of the nobility and prelates were attached to his cause. He was admitted without difficulty: Henry was taken from the palace of the Bishop of London, and again committed to the Tower.

Scarcely had Edward time to see his Queen and embrace the son which had been born to him in his absence, when he was again called to the head of his troops, who were assembled at Barnet, at which place Clarence, Warwick and Montague, were preparing to give them battle. The former, encouraged by a visit from his brother the Duke of Gloucester the night before the battle, came over to Edward's side, and brought with him fourteen thousand men. In the morning he sent a message to his father-in-law, intimating that he had received the King's pardon, who would also grant it to him if he would submit to his authority. The haughty Earl rejected the proposal with disdain, and enraged at the defection of Clarence, hasted to begin the engagement.

As in a former battle, he sent away his horse

and fought on foot, but his impetuosity subjected him to many disadvantages; his troops were disordered; and after desperately fighting for many hours, he fell covered with wounds in the hottest part of the engagement. His brother Montague shared the same fate in endeavouring to rescue him, and after their deaths, the army surrendered to King Edward. The carnage was dreadful on either part; five thousand men were slain on the side of the Lancastrians, and half that number on Edward's, whose ferocious disposition allowed his men to give no quarter to their enemies.

The lately restored Earls of Oxford and Exeter were in Warwick's army; the former fled to the Earl of Pembroke who was then raising troops in Wales, and the latter, dreadfully wounded was taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower.

Thus fell the king-making Warwick, who was no less celebrated for his military talents, influence, and fortune, than for his zeal, in behalf of those whose cause he espoused. Without him the York faction could never have prevailed; but the share he had in their exaltation, only made him an object of suspicious jealousy to the one party, and of hatred to the other. That the haughty and vindictive Margaret should so far stifle her resentment as to accept his services, is a proof how highly she valued them;

and the tears she shed at his death, gave evidence to his consequence, on which ever side he fought.

Contrary winds prevented Margaret's joining him as she intended; but on the day of the battle of Barnet this impetuous woman, with her son, and the Duke of Somerset, and a small body of French troops, landed in England. When she heard of the death of Warwick, and the re-imprisonment of her husband, her wonted courage seems to have forsaken her. She fled, faint and dispirited, with her son for refuge to the monastery of Beaulieu in Hampshire, but she could not resign the hopes which she had so little chance of realizing.

The tide of blood was not yet at its height, and another portion of the unhappy people were to fall a sacrifice to her ambition. Several gentlemen, headed by Courtenay Earl of Devonshire, came to offer her assistance; and encouraged by them, she determined to risk another engagement.

On the 4th of May, 1471, she assembled her forces at Tewksbury in Gloucestershire, where she expected to be joined by the Earl of Pembroke, with the troops he had raised in Wales in her behalf: but Edward, assisted by his brothers the Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, prevented their junction, and a decisive battle ensued, in which three thousand men were slain on Mar-

garet's side. She and her son were taken prisoners, the Earl of Devonshire was slain in the battle, and the Duke of Somerset, with several nobles who had fled to the church for sanctuary, were forcibly taken from thence, and immediately executed.

The important victory which Edward had gained was stained with cruelty; and the murder of a defenceless prince, whose courage and intrepidity evinced the greatness of his mind, was an action which not even the ferocity of that barbarous age can excuse. Young Edward, Margaret's son, was brought into his presence; and when asked by the King, in a tone of authority, how he had dared to enter his kingdom in arms? he boldly replied, that it was to recover those rights which had been usurped from his father. There was too much truth in this assertion to suit the imperious Edward. Exasperated to rage, he struck the generous youth on the face, and retired to the inner part of his tent. His two subservient brothers, and the noblemen by whom he had been surrounded, among whom was Lord Grey, the son of the Queen, taking this as a signal for his death, drew their swords and inhumanly stabbed him till he died.

The untimely death of this unfortunate Prince, at the early age of eighteen, cannot be contemplated without regret. He possessed true courage; and influenced by the example of his



mother, he sought the restoration of his father, and of his own inheritance. A generous enemy would have admired his intrepidity, while he disdained his futile attempts: but the way in which his life was ended must ever be a stain on the character of Edward and his courtiers. His unhappy mother was found more dead than alive on the field of battle, taken prisoner, and conveyed to the Tower. The avarice of Edward probably saved her life; as Louis engaged to pay fifty thousand crowns for her ransom, by instalments.

She remained a prisoner four years, till the sum was paid; and afterwards passed into the French dominions, where she spent the remainder of her days in tranquillity, and died in 1482.

Her character is thus described by Hume:—  
“An admirable Princess; but more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity, than by her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been subject to the weakness of her sex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which she lived.”

Within a few days after the battle of Tewksbury, Henry was found dead in his bed in the Tower; where, since the restoration of Edward, he had been confined. Most historians agree in supposing him murdered by Gloucester; though

others, more favourable to that Prince, attribute Henry's death to grief. The brutal disposition of Gloucester, and the many murders he afterwards committed, justify the suspicion which was formed against him.

Henry was the last of the House of Lancaster, and of the Plantagenet line; his ancestors had worn the crown for above four hundred years. In the last sixteen years of Henry's life, twelve battles had been fought, and the blood of several thousands of his subjects desperately shed on his account. During his reign he founded the college at Eton; and King's College Cambridge, for the reception of those scholars who had commenced their studies in the former school.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

*Edward's Cruelty, and Revenge on the Lancastrians.—Death of the Earl of Exeter.—Claim of Henry VII.—Promotion of the Queen's Party.—Edward invades France.—Treaty of Peace.—Affiance of the Princess Elizabeth to the Dauphin.—Edward's Offspring.—Death of the Duke of Burgundy.—Marriage of his Daughter.—Death of Clarence.*

THE arbitrary and cruel disposition of Edward became more conspicuous after his restoration to the throne. Every nobleman was again obliged to take an oath of allegiance to him and his son, whom he had already created Prince of Wales, and he pursued with unremitting vengeance, all whom he deemed obnoxious to punishment.

The house of Nevil was still the object of his dislike, and the Archbishop of York, to whom in great measure he owed the facility with which he had recovered the crown, was imprisoned in a foreign country and deprived of his see, of which the King long kept the emoluments in his own power.

The estates of those noblemen who had taken part with Margaret were confiscated, and their revenues increased the King's riches. The Earl of Oxford, who had married a sister of Warwick, was imprisoned in France, and his wife reduced to the utmost necessity.

The Duke of Exeter having escaped from the Tower where he had been confined, and taken sanctuary, solicited in vain the intercession of his wife with the King. Instead of befriending him, she desired that their separation might be confirmed by act of parliament, and this unhappy nobleman perished some time after in a miserable obscurity: he was the last branch of the house of Lancaster, except the young Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII, who had fled with his uncle Pembroke to the court of Brittany. Here Edward allowed them pensions, on receiving a promise from the Duke of that province, that they should not infringe on his government; and after all his attempts to get Richmond into his power, had been baffled by their vigilance.

At this time the war between Louis and the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany was suspended, and while the former Duke was extending his territories in Germany, he influenced his brother-in-law the King of England to make war upon France, in order to prevent Louis from entering his dominions in his absence. The promise of

his assistance, with the alluring prospect of recovering some of those provinces which had been lost in the preceding reign, induced Edward to make the attempt.

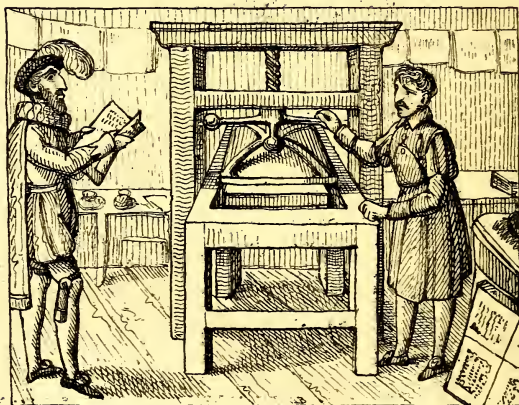
In 1475 he landed on the French coast, but not finding himself seconded by Burgundy as he expected, he readily accepted the proposals of peace made him by the French King, and withdrew his forces without having attempted any engagement. The articles of this treaty were highly advantageous to Edward as to pecuniary concerns, and he returned home with an increase of riches, if not of glory. The expenses of the armament were paid by Louis, and Edward received an annuity of fifty thousand crowns, as an equivalent for the towns in France to which he laid claim: pensions were also granted to several of his courtiers, and from this time their conduct was greatly influenced by the French court. Two years after this, the Duke of Burgundy was slain in battle against the Swiss, whose dominions he had also invaded. The duchy devolved to his only daughter Mary, by a former wife; by Margaret the sister of Edward, he had no issue. Several princes allured by the splendid patrimony of the young Duchess, had solicited her hand in marriage, among whom was the Duke of Clarence, who had lately lost his wife. His cause was warmly espoused by the Dowager of Burgundy, who

had great influence with her daughter-in-law, but the negotiation was broken off by Elizabeth, who wished to obtain her hand for her brother, Lord Rivers. Louis would gladly have secured this alliance for the Dauphin, but he feared to exasperate Edward, whose daughter Elizabeth had already received the title of Dauphiness, and was considered as inviolably affianced to that Prince. At length Mary silenced the solicitations of her several wooers, by accepting the hand of Maximilian, son of the Emperor of Germany, to whom, though he was very unable to defend her dominions, Louis restored some of the towns he had taken since her father's death.

The animosity of Clarence to the Queen, was secretly fermented by the artful insinuations of his brother Gloucester, who had already formed designs upon the crown, and considered him as an impediment in his way to obtain it, as on the death of Edward's children, Clarence would have been the legal successor. Having provoked him to speak injuriously of the King, he caused it to be reported, and Edward already inflamed with anger and jealousy against his unsuspecting brother, ordered him to be confined to the Tower. According to the arbitrary proceedings of that age, the Duke was not allowed to bring forward any person to refute the charges brought against him, and scarcely heard in his own defence; he was pronounced guilty of trea-







son, and condemned to death, but the parliament fearing the resentment of the populace, with whom Clarence was a general favourite, caused him to be privately murdered in the Tower. Historians relate that the choice of his death being allowed him, he was drowned in a butt of malmsey, his favourite liquor. He left two children by the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, whose unhappy fate should not be forgotten. His son, as I have said before, succeeded to the title of Earl of Warwick, and was beheaded in the reign of Henry VII. and his sister, who had married one of the family of Suffolk, inherited his estates; in the reign of Henry VIII. she was created Countess of Salisbury, the title of Warwick's mother; and at an advanced age was beheaded, to complete that King's vengeance against Cardinal de la Pole, her son, who had not consented to the legality of his divorce from Catherine of Arragon.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

*Negotiation of Marriages for Edward's Children.—Alliance with Brittany.—Duke of Albany.—Death of the young Duchess of Burgundy.—Marriage of the Dauphin to her Daughter.—Resentment of the English.—Preparations for War.—Edward's Death.—His Character.—Printing Presses established.*

THE succeeding years of Edward's reign are very barren of events. The Queen brought him several children, for whom he proposed matrimonial alliances almost as soon as they were born, in order to strengthen himself by foreign connexions. In 1479, his fourth daughter Anne was contracted to the new-born son of Maximilian, Duke of Burgundy; who, on the expiration of the short truce allowed him by Louis on his marriage, had recovered the whole of his wife's dominions. Catherine, another daughter, was affianced to the Infant of Castile.

The money which Edward and his courtiers continued to receive from the court of France proved very acceptable to them; yet the King was uneasy that the marriage of his eldest

daughter, then thirteen years of age, with the Dauphin, had not taken place. Louis made many frivolous excuses for the delay, and it was evident he did not wish to see it accomplished. The truth was, he had already destined the Dauphin for the infant daughter of Maximilian; and willing to engage Edward in another pursuit, he influenced the King of Scotland to break his truce, and declare war against England.

The attempt of James to enter the kingdom was soon repelled; and Edward, who knew to whose arts he might attribute his sudden invasion, by way of retaliation on Louis, entered into a closer alliance with Maximilian and Mary, and assisted them with men and money: though not without a promise from them of the same pension which he received from Louis, in case that Monarch should refuse to pay it. He also entered into an engagement with the Duke of Brittany, to give his son, the Prince of Wales, in marriage to one of his daughters, and to furnish him with troops when necessary.

This confederacy took place in 1482: at which time the Duke of Albany, brother to the King of Scotland, having escaped from confinement, in which he had long been kept by a corrupt ministry, who governed their Sovereign, came to England and implored the protection of Edward. The King sent an army, under the command of the Duke of Gloucester, to assist

him in recovering his rights. Several Scottish noblemen befriended him; and encouraged by the appearance of the English troops, they seized on the ministers, who had by various acts of tyranny made themselves detested by the people, dragged them from the King's presence, and executed on them a speedy vengeance in the sight of the army. Terrified by their deaths, and unable to avenge them, James agreed to every thing which was required of him. He was apparently reconciled to his brother; but shortly after, seeking another occasion of quarrel with him, the Duke of Albany retired to France, where he was accidentally killed at a tournament.

While Gloucester was in Scotland, he obliged James to restore to his brother the town of Berwick, which had been ceded to that kingdom by Margaret, in return for the services she received from them.

In the succeeding year, Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, died, by a fall from her horse, and Maximilian losing much of his influence among her people, was obliged to return into Germany, and leave his children in their guardianship. Influenced by Louis, who renewed his claim to the Duchy, they agreed to give Margaret, the daughter of their late Duchess, in marriage to the Dauphin, who had been so long affianced to the Princess of England. The Princess Margaret



was brought to France, and at two years of age openly betrothed to the Dauphin, with as great splendour as her early age would admit.

This event was considered as a signal of war by the English, who were impatient to revenge the affront offered to their Monarch, though Louis might have reminded them that Edward had acted in the same manner with his sister Bona. Fresh troops were raised, and a liberal supply was granted by parliament, to which the people largely added by voluntary contributions. Devoted to licentious pleasures, and grown very indolent, the King yet determined to rouse himself and once more to appear in arms: but in the midst of his warlike preparations he was seized with a violent fever, occasioned by his excesses, and died, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, 1483.

By this unexpected event the armament was suspended, and other occurrences of a much more alarming nature soon occupied the attention of the people. These seemed for a time to paralyze their feelings; but when roused to a sense of the wrongs which had been committed, their united efforts opened a way for the dawning of that liberty, which in after ages produced the revolution at the end of the seventeenth century.

Edward left two sons and five daughters. His person and address gained him many admirers, but he possessed few virtues to secure their

esteem. His success in life was very remarkable, as he never fought a battle which he did not win; and at a time when his adherents had lately experienced two defeats, and when his father's head was still seen fixed on the gates of York, he was proclaimed King almost without opposition. His restoration to the throne before he had risked an engagement, was yet more extraordinary, and clearly proves the power of persuasion, which he possessed in an eminent degree. With all this, "he was" to use the words of Smollet, "cruel, vindictive, perfidious, lewd, perjured, and rapacious; without one liberal thought, without one sentiment of humanity." Hume mentions him with less severity; but those who speak the most favourably of this Monarch can say but little in his praise, if influenced by truth.

During his reign he added to the Tower of London, built the royal chapel at Windsor, the castles of Nottingham and of Dover, and a palace at Eltham, the only remains of which are now seen as forming the walls of an extensive barn and granary.

The greatest service which literature received in the reign of Edward was by the art of printing, which was first known in Germany, and brought into England by William Caxton, a citizen of London, whom Edward had employed as envoy to the Duke of Burgundy. This man established a press at Westminster, where it is

said the first book he printed was on the game of chess. The monasteries soon after purchased the art; and presses were in a few years established at the two universities and at St. Albans. One of the first books printed, now extant, is Tully's Offices, which is still preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Caxton was recommended to the King by the Earl of Rivers, in whom were united great taste for literature and considerable abilities with a large share of valour. The King had appointed this nobleman to superintend the education of his son the Prince of Wales.

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## CHAPTER XV.

*Parties in the Court.—Accession of Edward V.—  
The Queen's suspicion.—Treachery of Gloucester.  
—Confinement of the Princes in the Tower.—  
Death of Earl Rivers and Sir Thomas Grey.*

AT the death of Edward IV. his court was composed of two parties, who were hostile to each other. The one was comprised of the Queen's brother and sons, with all who owed or expected promotion from them; at the head of this party

was the Queen herself. Their opponents consisted of the remains of the ancient nobility who were offended at the rising greatness of the Woodville family; these were headed by Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, seventh son of Edward III. He was Lord High Constable of England, and his colleagues were Lord Hastings (the King's chamberlain) and Lord Stanley, both noblemen, to whom Edward was much attached for their adherence to him in his adversity. Not even the Queen's entreaties could prevail on him to dismiss them from his council.

On his death-bed he was anxious to see these parties reconciled, and calling them around it, he begged them to consider the interest of his son, and to assist each other in promoting it: his appeal to their feelings and at such a time, appeared to have the desired effect. The Marquess of Dorset (son to the Queen,) and the Duke of Buckingham, embraced each other with many protestations of future friendship. The Queen engaged for the concurrence of her other son and her brother Lord Rivers, who were then absent with the Prince of Wales, at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire, where he resided, to awe by their presence some insurrections which had lately arisen in Wales.

The Duke of Gloucester, while he preserved the appearance of friendship and regard for the

Queen, secretly aided the opposite party; and on the death of his brother, determined to use their influence to fix himself on the throne, although he did not avow his intention even to them, till he had seen the success of his projected attempt to destroy the Queen's power. The King was no sooner dead, than his eldest son, then about twelve years of age, was proclaimed as Edward V; but the contending parties soon forgot their seeming reconciliation, and each were desirous of securing the person and favour of the new King, in the hope of governing the nation in his name. He was himself affectionately attached to his maternal uncle Rivers, who had attended to his education, and Gloucester was anxious to get him from under his care.

The Queen, aware of the contentions which might arise on the decease of the King, immediately despatched a messenger to her brother with the news, and desired that her son might be escorted to London with a body of troops. The late King having expressed his wish that his brother Gloucester should be protector of the realm during his son's minority, the council willingly appointed him to that office, and the Queen, who had at this time no reason to consider him otherwise than a friend, as readily acceded to the proposal. He was no sooner informed of the order she had sent to her brother, than he

represented to her the offence which such a measure might give to the opposite party: he had already influenced them to protest against it, as seeming to imply that their young Monarch was not safe under their protection.

The Queen not doubting the sincerity of Gloucester, and fearful of increasing the animosity of her enemies, yielded to his suggestions and countermanded the order she had sent her brother, desiring only that the King might be attended with a retinue, proper for his new dignity.

In the mean time Gloucester, under the appearance of shewing respect to his nephew, raised a body of men, and attended by them and the Duke of Buckingham, with a splendid train of servants and retainers, went as far as Northampton to meet him; but his views were far otherwise than to do him honour, and he was determined to separate him from the friends he was then with, before he should arrive in London.

The soldiers were quartered in the town and neighbourhood of Northampton; but the Earl of Rivers supposing that the place would not afford accommodation to the numerous retinue of both parties, sent the young King, attended by Sir Thomas Grey, by another road to Stony Stratford, twelve miles nearer London, where he was to pass the night. The Earl himself hastened to Northampton to meet the Duke of Gloucester, and apologized for what he had done.



He was received with the greatest cordiality, and the late union of the contending parties seemed to be cemented by their mutual harmony and good humour.

An adept in dissimulation, Gloucester adopted this conduct to put the Earl off his guard; he had already concerted his plans for removing him from the King, with Buckingham, and that time-serving nobleman was ready to lend assistance to any scheme which would destroy the object of his hatred. In the morning they all set out to join the King at Stony Stratford, but before they entered the town, the Protector ordered his followers to arrest Lord Rivers, who was not suffered to see his nephew, nor informed of the cause of such a violent proceeding.

Every outward mark of respect was shewn by the perfidious Gloucester to the youthful Monarch; but when he inquired for his other uncle, whom he expected to see with him, he heard a feigned tale of the Earl's having formed a conspiracy against the lives of Gloucester and Buckingham. The Marquess of Dorset, with Sir Thomas Grey, were also implicated in this charge; and notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the King, who offered to vouch for the innocence of those who had been with him, Sir Thomas Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan (who also possessed a high station in his household), were arrested, and taken under a strong

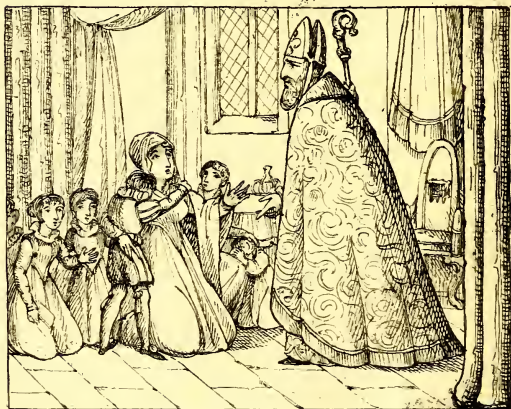
guard, with Lord Rivers, as prisoners to Pomfret Castle.

Many tears were shed by the young Edward, who could not draw any favourable presage of his future reign from these arbitrary proceedings at its commencement. He was taken back to Northampton, till he would be reconciled to his loss, and be able to enter London in better spirits. The Marquess of Dorset, who remained with the Queen, was also accused of having secreted the treasure of the late King, with which he had been entrusted; but Gloucester assured his nephew that each of these noblemen should have a fair trial, and that nothing contrary to law should be offered them.

When the news of these transactions reached the Queen, she immediately suspected the whole design of Gloucester; and not knowing whom she might trust, she once more retired to the sanctuary of Westminster, with her five daughters and the Duke of York, her youngest son, then about nine years of age, attended by the Marquess of Dorset. Here she waited with the greatest anxiety for further tidings of the King, for whom she felt the most alarming apprehensions.

Lord Hastings, who was a nobleman of too much integrity to harbour or assist in any design against his Sovereign, sent the Archbishop of York to assure the Queen that no harm was intended either to herself or children: but she





was in too much distress to attend to these protestations. She sat on the floor, surrounded by her trembling and affrighted family, deploring their fate in accents of grief; nor would she be persuaded to quit the asylum she had chosen, or permit them to leave it.

In a few days after Hastings had suppressed a tumult among the citizens, who were alarmed by what had taken place, and assured them nothing but justice was intended to the prisoners at Pomfret, the young King entered London, amidst the acclamations of the people, and accompanied by his uncle Gloucester, who affected to treat him with every appearance of respect and submission. He was conducted to the Bishop's palace as a place of security, and that he might seem to be placed under the protection of the citizens. This mark of the Protector's confidence in them removed the suspicions which they had entertained of his design.

As the King earnestly desired to see his brother, and the Duke was equally desirous of having them both in his power, he dispatched the Archbishop of Canterbury to bring him from his mother, desiring she might be informed that sanctuaries were appointed for criminals, and not for those who, like the young Duke of York, had done nothing amiss. The Queen persisted in her refusal to part from him, till urged by the Primate she confessed her fears of what might

be Gloucester's intention. The Archbishop could not suppose him capable of such a design: and astonished and offended at such an insinuation, he represented to her the improbability of his making such an attempt, as well as the unlikeliness of its success, since he must obtain the consent of the nobles, who were all attached to their King, before he could put it in execution. He reprobated the idea, as injurious to a man of such strict probity as he believed the Protector to be; and intimated, that while she refused to put her younger son in *his* care, under whose guidance the late King had placed his successor, she was inciting suspicions in the minds of the people, and above all, inflaming the anger of the Duke of Gloucester, whose friendship it was most necessary for her to retain. At length his arguments prevailed: with a flood of tears she embraced her son for the last time, and in an ill-fated hour consigned him to the care of the Prelate. She was destined never more to see him or his brother!

The young Princes met each other with every affectionate expression of pleasure, and in a few days were conducted by their uncle to the Tower, it being the custom for the Kings of England to ride in procession from thence to their coronation at Westminster: this was the pretext Richard used to place his nephews in confinement.

Having secured their persons, and the interest



of the Duke of Buckingham, to whom he now disclosed the whole of his nefarious design, he resolved to destroy the prisoners whom he had left at Pomfret. The Lords Hastings and Stanley willingly consented to their execution; and Sir Thomas Radcliffe, the governor of the castle, received orders to take their lives, which was done without even the form of a trial, and to the great dissatisfaction of the people, who now began again to dread still greater evils.

Several emissaries were at this time employed by Richard, to spread dishonourable reports of his mother, the Duchess of York, who was yet alive, and warmly attached to the Queen and her children. She had ever borne the most unblemished character, yet these agents of Richard scrupled not to say that the late King and Clarence were not the children of her husband; and that Gloucester alone was his legitimate son. The children of Clarence, who were then under the care of their grandmother, were declared attainted by the treason of their father, which had never been disproved, and for which he had suffered confiscation. They even went so far as to insinuate that a previous contract of marriage which the late King had made with Elizabeth Lucy before he had seen the Lady Elizabeth Grey, had made his marriage with her illegal, and that therefore the young Edward had no right to the throne.

The delay of the coronation increased the alarm of the people, and the Protector found that he must speedily execute his design, or relinquish it for ever.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

*State of Elizabeth.—Arrest and Death of Hastings.—Buckingham harangues the People.—Richard proclaimed King.—Murder of the Princes in the Tower.—Their Bones discovered and interred in Westminster Abbey.*

AFTER being eighteen years a Queen, Elizabeth was again a widow; her honours and her happiness ended with the life of Edward. How often might she, while in the sanctuary, look back to her former widowhood, and sigh to think that in proportion to her rise in life, her sorrows had increased.

At that time, though deprived of a beloved husband, though she had seen "his fair fame tainted," and his estates confiscated for taking part with the Lancastrians, she then had an affectionate family to whom she might fly for refuge, who were anxious to sooth her grief and

afford her assistance. Alas! where were they now? Her marriage with the King, which had raised her from obscurity, and which had been hailed by them as the harbinger of their own elevation, had also forwarded their destruction.

Her father and youngest brother were early victims to the envy of their cotemporaries: her mother alone died a natural death, and lived not to see the destruction of her family. To whom might Elizabeth now look for support? Her sons by the King were in their uncle's power, and too young to assert their rights. Of those by her former husband, whom in their infancy she had fondly pressed to her heart as the expected stay of her declining years, one had been sacrificed with her other brother to the jealousy of their rivals, and the other obliged to fly to the sanctuary with her, now her only place of refuge. The sanctuary might afford her an asylum, but the religion of that day was ill calculated to give her either real comfort or instruction. Dependent on the priests, the high and the low were equally a prey to their avarice and their superstition. Debarred from the perusal of the Holy Scriptures, where, alone, true comfort is to be found, it was deemed wrong to dispute the will of the ecclesiastics, by whom these places were governed, or to doubt their authority to impose the penances they required.

Elizabeth's situation here was also changed:

during her former abode in this retreat, she had not lost the hope of being restored to her husband and the throne; she was then surrounded by friends and followers who cherished her expectation; they loved her as their queen, and their attentions alleviated her sorrows. But now her influence was waning! Even if her son should possess the crown, the Duke of Gloucester would have all the power; and who will hang a garland on a withered tree when even its rising scions seem decaying?

This unfortunate Queen looked on her daughters and trembled for their fate: having been already disappointed in her fairest hopes for one of them, she could not anticipate the opening of a brighter prospect for the others, any more than for herself.

In the mean time the palaces were uninhabited, and the Princes remained shut up in the Tower, while their cruel and ambitious uncle was weaving the plan of their destruction. Having tried Lord Hastings, and found him determined to support their cause, he resolved to destroy him as he had their former friends; Lord Hastings was quickly punished for the share he had in their deaths, by suffering under a sentence equally unjust. The Protector called a council under the pretence of consulting them on his nephew's coronation, but in the midst of their conference, he accused the Queen and Jane Shore, formerly

a favourite mistress of the late King, and now of Hastings, of having attempted to deprive him of the use of his arm by sorcery.

Great as was the ignorance of that age, in which the powers of witchcraft were firmly credited, no one could believe the truth of this accusation, as it was well known his arm had been withered from his infancy. When Hastings expressed a doubt of their guilt, the Duke charged him with being an accomplice, ordered him to be seized as a traitor, and declared he would not eat till he had seen his head severed from his body. His arbitrary mandate was instantly obeyed, and Lord Hastings was beheaded on a log of wood without the door: Lord Stanley, with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely, were arrested on the same charge and conveyed to prison. Gloucester then repaired with Buckingham to the Tower, and wishing to reconcile the citizens of London, who were very fond of Hastings, to the death of that nobleman, he sent for the mayor and aldermen, and appearing in armour before them, he declared that what he had done was to save his life from the machinations of that villain and others who had conspired against it, though he regretted that his friends had so hastily avenged his cause.

Whatever might be the private opinion of his auditors, they were obliged to conceal it, and so far agree with him as to proclaim this report

through the city. The proclamation being so immediately ready for dispersion excited many suspicions that the whole transaction had been planned, and that the death of Hastings did not arise from the zeal of the Protector's friends, but from his own express order; the whole kingdom became alarmed, and Richard's emissaries redoubled their efforts to vindicate his character. The pulpit was venally prostituted to this purpose by Doctor Shaw, the mayor's brother, and every means used to induce the people to chuse him for their King.

The Duke of Buckingham harangued the citizens, and expatiated on the virtues and merits of Richard. Three times did he stop in the midst of his discourse, hoping to hear them exclaim, "King Richard for ever!" but all were silent till he commanded some of his own attendants to begin the cry. It was followed by a few insignificant voices, and this he chose to consider as the suffrages of the people, demanding Gloucester for their Sovereign. He told them he approved their choice, and advised them to send a deputation to the only Prince worthy to reign over them, and beg him to assume the government; though he much feared he would not comply with their solicitation.

Every sensible person saw through this weak artifice, yet none dared to speak their disapprobation. The Mayor and Aldermen, who were







entirely at the Protector's service, repaired with many of Buckingham's associates to Barnard's Castle, where he was anxiously expecting their arrival. He feigned alarm at their appearance; and affecting to be engaged in acts of devotion, expressed surprize at their request. For some time he refused to comply, but his denials grew fainter when he suspected their entreaties were not so urgent; and at length, on their telling him that Edward's children should never reign over them, this miserable farce ended by his declaring that though he knew himself the lawful heir to the crown, he felt greater pleasure in possessing it as the gift of a free people, than by inheritance: thus endeavouring to conceal the joy he felt at the success of his schemes, under the mask of hypocrisy and feigned humility.

He was proclaimed King in little more than two months from his brother's death, and after he had taken the lives of so many innocent persons without even the appearance of law or justice. The measure of his iniquities was not yet full, and a just punishment, both in this and in another world, awaited him for his atrocious crimes.

He had married Anne, the daughter of the late Earl of Warwick, and widow of the young Edward, son of Henry VI. whom he had himself assisted to inhumanly murder, as related in my twelfth chapter. That Anne could consent to

marry the murderer of her first husband, is a strong proof of the want of feeling and delicacy in that ignorant age; and his cruel and tyrannical manners must have been a severe punishment to her for putting herself in his power. They were crowned together on the 6th of July, 1483; the Queen's train was borne by Margaret, Countess of Richmond, wife to Lord Stanley, and mother of the young Earl of Richmond, then an exile in Brittany. Her husband was liberated on this occasion, and appointed steward of the King's household, not from Richard's regard for him, but in the hope of securing him in his service.

Elizabeth heard of the coronation of Richard, and feared for the lives of her sons, well knowing that the tyrant would not suffer them to live, although they were in close confinement, if the least attempt was made in their behalf.

Having determined to make a progress through several counties, to reform some abuses which prevailed there, he left secret orders for the murder of his nephews with Sir James Tyrrel, who received the government of the Tower for one night only, that he might perpetrate the horrid deed. These unfortunate and innocent Princes were smothered in their beds, by two assassins hired for the purpose, who afterwards confessed the crime. They were buried in secret, under a stair-case, where their bones

were discovered by workmen who were repairing the Tower, in the reign of Charles II.; they were removed by order of that Monarch to Westminster Abbey, and interred in the chapel of Henry VIII. under a marble monument, with a Latin inscription on it, which has been thus translated: "Here lie the remains of Edward V. King of England, and of Richard, Duke of York; these unhappy brothers were confined in the Tower, and there smothered with pillows by order of their perfidious uncle Richard, the usurper of the throne, and privately and indecently buried: their bones were often and diligently sought for in vain, till on July 27th, 1674, one hundred and ninety years after their deaths, they were dug up under the ruins of a staircase that formerly led to the chapel of the White Tower, and known by most undoubted tokens. The most compassionate King Charles II. pitying their severe fate, thought fit to order these most unfortunate Princes this place of interment among the monuments of their forefathers, in the year of our Lord 1678, and the thirtieth of his reign."

The end of their murderers has been noticed by historians, who both died miserably at Calais. Sir James Tyrrel was arrested in the following reign, and beheaded for treason.

Sir Thomas Moore, the historian of that age, relates that Richard was never happy afterwards, and that his countenance continually betrayed

the accusations of his conscience. There are other authors who endeavour to exculpate him from the guilt of this crime, by denying the truth of it; but his general character is such, that it cannot be supposed he would scruple to add these victims to those he had already offered on the shrine of his ambition, when their death was so necessary to secure to him the possession of that throne, for which he had sacrificed all the best feelings of human nature.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

*Buckingham and the King quarrel.—The former espouses the cause of Richmond.—Raises an army in his favour.—Betrayed by his servant.—His execution.—Richmond returns into Brittany.—Engages to marry the Princess Elizabeth.—Richard discovers their plan.—Seeks a reconciliation with the Queen dowager.—Death of his son and of his wife.—Proposes to marry the Princess.—Dissimulation of the Queen and Princess.*

WITHIN a few months after his accession, Richard was a second time crowned at York, and his son, a boy of ten years of age, was created



Prince of Wales; but as the wicked are generally jealous of the instruments by which they attain their ends, he soon quarrelled with Buckingham, who did not think himself sufficiently rewarded for the services he had performed.

In revenge for Richard's neglect, this nobleman began to consider the claim of young Richmond to the crown, and formed the plan of his marrying Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth, and thus uniting the two houses. He communicated it to the Countess of Richmond, the Earl's mother, and through her means (who employed a physician to inform the Queen Dowager of it,) a secret engagement was entered into between the parties.

The unfortunate Elizabeth, the heroine of my history, received with joy a proposal so advantageous to herself and daughters, and once more indulged the hope of seeing better days. Each party informed their separate adherents in whom they could confide, of what was projected, and all were eager to see it executed, as the tyranny of Richard had already made him many enemies. The Marquess of Dorset, and Sir Richard Woodville, the Queen's brother, with the Bishop of Exeter, and several other persons of distinction, heartily engaged in the association. Messengers were sent by the Countess to her son in Brittany, to inform him of the project in his favour, and the Duke of that province promised to engage

on his side. The Earl was expected in England, and all things seemed to promise him success, but the vigilance of Richard discovered that some plot was formed against him, and immediately suspecting Buckingham, who refused to appear before him, he proclaimed him a traitor, and set a price of a thousand pounds on his head.

A servant, whom Buckingham's father had raised from indigence, and whom the present Duke had greatly benefited, was so ungrateful as to betray his master, who had taken refuge in his house, on hearing the proclamation issued against him. This servant, whose name was Bannister, received the offered reward for his infamous conduct, but if conscience did her office, he could ill enjoy it, and Buckingham was beheaded without any process of law, by the order of Richard. He suffered the same hasty death, which he had seen with unconcern executed on the unsuspecting Hastings and several others, little considering how soon it might be his own fate. He was thus justly recompensed for his too ready adherence to the wicked designs of Richard: that cruel tyrant, who made him subservient to his will, was yet permitted to live a little longer, and to perform more crimes to fill the measure of his iniquities.

The army which Buckingham had raised was dispersed, and such of the commanders as





could escape, fled to Brittany, among whom was the Marquess of Dorset; the rest took refuge in the sanctuaries, and the houses of their friends. The winds were fortunately unfavourable to Richmond's arrival in England so soon as he expected, and on his appearing on the coast of Dorsetshire, he was informed of what had happened time enough to prevent his being taken by Richard, and hastened back to Brittany; here he was encouraged by the English who had taken refuge there, to wait for a more favourable opportunity to accomplish his purpose. He was already acknowledged King of England by them, and he entered into a solemn engagement to espouse the Princess Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, her sister Cecily, when he should be put in possession of the kingdom.

In the mean time, Richard pursued with unremitting cruelty all whom he thought friendly to the cause of Richmond; and Elizabeth, confined with her children to the sanctuary, heard with a sickening heart of the daily executions of her adherents. Well has our immortal poet described her situation, in his tragedy of Richard III.

“ A mother, only mocked with two fair babes;  
A sign of dignity, a breath, a bubble,  
A Queen in jest, only to fill the scene.”

He makes Margaret continue her speech thus:—

“ Where is thy husband now? where be thy brothers?  
Where be thy children? wherein dost thou joy?

Who sues and kneels, and says, God save the Queen?  
Where be the bending peers that flattered thee?  
Where be the thronging troops that followed thee?  
Decline all this; and see what now thou art.  
For happy wife, a most distressed widow;  
For joyful mother, one that wails the name;  
For one being sued to, one that humbly sues;  
For queen, a very caitiff crowned with care;  
For one that scorned at me, now scorned of me;  
For one being feared of all, now fearing one;  
For one commanding all, obeyed of none.  
Thus hath the course of justice wheel'd about,  
And left thee but a very prey to time;  
Having no more but thought of what thou wert,  
To torture thee the more, being what thou art."

By bribing the minister of the Duke of Brittany, the King hoped to get Richmond into his power, or at least to frustrate the designs of that Duke in his favour. He learnt also the treaty of marriage between the young Earl and the Princess Elizabeth, and having now lost his only son, whom he had created Prince of Wales, he formed the incongruous design of marrying that Princess himself, and thus to unite their contending titles.

His being her uncle, and his having a wife already, were no obstacles to the enterprising mind of Richard, who scrupled not to overstep every bound of justice, decency, and morality, to compass what he considered necessary to attain his end.

For the one, a dispensation from the Pope



was thought sufficient, and he had various means of destroying a wife whom he no longer regarded, and whose health and spirits were daily declining under his unkind treatment, and the grief she felt at the death of her son. Historians most favourable to Richard, ("for even this tyrant," says Hume, "has met with partisans,") ascribe the Queen's death, which quickly followed that of the Prince of Wales, to this cause; but others, and perhaps with more truth, attribute it to poison, administered by her unnatural husband. He who had already destroyed so many lives, would feel no repugnance to taking her's, when it came in competition with his ambition; nor could she who had consented to marry the murderer of her former husband, and his father, expect better treatment from him.

No sooner had the King formed the design above mentioned, than he endeavoured to insinuate himself into favour with the Queen Dowager; he confessed that he had dealt too hardly with her, but as a reparation for his ill treatment, he offered to provide suitable marriages for her daughters, to settle a handsome pension on herself, and place her brother and son in lucrative and honourable situations. For some time the Queen could not be persuaded to believe these flattering promises, but on its being hinted to her, that as the Prince of Wales was dead, the King intended to make her daughter Elizabeth

his heir and successor to the throne, she was induced to quit the sanctuary, which she now considered as her prison, and place herself and her five daughters under his care.

They were received at court with every mark of distinction, and the flattering prospect which the King held out for the advancement of her son, the Marquess of Dorset, inclined her to write to him to forsake the Earl of Richmond, and depend on the generosity of Richard. It is probable she considered that the plot in the Earl's favour, having failed on the death of Buckingham, she could expect for herself and family only a more rigorous fate, if by her denial she should farther incense the King; and the Marquess, as weak and unguarded as herself, would have complied with her request, had not the friends of Henry discovered his design, and by their powerful arguments prevailed on him to stay, and share his fate.

Hitherto the Queen's conduct, though weak, may admit of some excuse: from the hopeless state of her affairs, she might be induced to listen to the promises of a deceitful tyrant: but that she could afterwards consent to his marriage with her daughter, is scarcely to be credited, unless we suppose that the fear of his cruelty obliged her to dissemble, and conceal the aversion which she must have felt to unite her child with the murderer of her brothers.

It is probable, that when the Marquess of Dorset was compelled to remain in Brittany, some other scheme was proposed for the advancement of Richmond, and privately communicated to her; this might have raised her hopes of his ultimate success, and if by temporising with Richard, and appearing to favour his wishes, she could prevent his committing any farther outrage on her family, she acted wisely in stifling her resentment at his proposal.

Most of the historians agree, that the offer was rejected with indignation by the Princess herself, and Richard, hoping to conquer her reluctance, relinquished his suit till a more favourable opportunity.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Richmond, assisted by France, enters England.—  
Battle of Bosworth.—Death of Richard.—  
Accession of Richmond.—Extinction of the  
Plantagenet Line.—Henry's Coronation.—His  
Marriage with the Princess Elizabeth.*

EARLY in the year 1485, Henry obtained succours from France, and openly declared to his friends and adherents his intention to make a

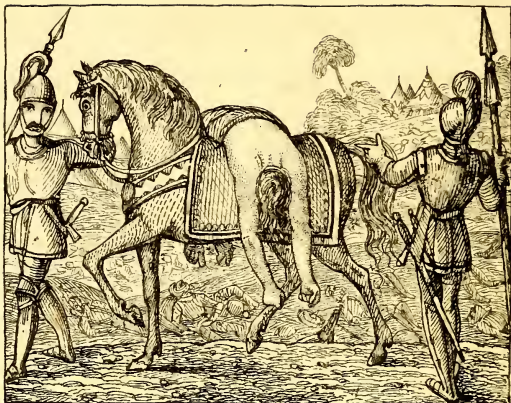
second descent on England. On the 6th of August he landed at Milford Haven, in Wales, and the King prepared to give him battle.

The situation of the Queen and her daughter can more easily be imagined than described. They had already proceeded too far in dissimulation towards the King to doubt that if he succeeded in overcoming his enemy, misery must be their portion whether the marriage between him and Elizabeth took place or not; and if they anticipated Richmond's success, their total ignorance of his disposition, and of his real inclination towards the Princess, for whom it was impossible he could feel regard, as he had never seen her, must have caused them many anxious hours.

At all events, the young Elizabeth was expected to be the wife of the victor; and she might justly hope that less unhappiness would arise from her marriage with Richmond, than from an union so repugnant to her feelings as that with her uncle.

The result of the battle of Bosworth is well known to all who are acquainted with history, or who have read Shakspeare's incomparable tragedy of Richard III. That cruel tyrant was slain in the field; the pangs of conscience increased his despair and hastened his death. He died covered with wounds, to receive in another world the eternal punishment which the cruel







and barbarous actions he had committed in this so justly merited.

Richmond was crowned on the spot by Lord Stanley, the husband of his mother, with the diadem of Richard, which had been found in the field, and immediately saluted as King by the whole army.

Lord Stanley had long been his friend, but was prevented from declaring himself by the cruel Richard, who threatened to kill his son, Lord Strange, (and whom he kept as the hostage of his father's fidelity,) if the latter shewed any signs of defection.

Many of Richard's friends were slain, but the remainder, on their subjection to Richmond, were received into his favour. Few fell on the side of the conqueror, who on his knees returned thanks to the Almighty for the victory, in the field of battle, and then ascending an eminence expressed his approbation of the soldiers' bravery who had fought for him, and promised them all an ample reward.

The body of Richard was disgracefully thrown across the back of a horse, and carried to Leicester, where, after being exposed for a few days to every indignity, it was buried in the abbey church. A marble monument was afterwards placed over it by Henry's order, but at the destruction of religious houses in the reign of his son, Henry VIII. the bones of this inhuman

monster were dug up by the rabble, who tumultuously carried them through the streets, and threw them into the river Soar, at a place now called Back Stream, under Bow Bridge. This bridge was broken down in 1791, and has not since been repaired.

Richard III. was the last of the line of Plantagenet, which had filled the throne of England for nearly three hundred and thirty years, except the Earl of Warwick, son to his brother Clarence, whom he had imprisoned at Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, and whose fate, with that of his sister, the Countess of Salisbury, I have before mentioned.

Their grandmother Cecily, the daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland, and Duchess of York, died at an advanced age in 1495, after having seen three of her descendants crowned, Edward, Richard, and Elizabeth her grand-daughter; and four others of them cruelly murdered, Rutland, Clarence, and the two sons of Edward IV. Her husband, with her half brother the Earl of Salisbury, were killed in battle, with most of her friends and adherents, who lost their lives in the cause of her sons.

She was buried in a collegiate church adjoining Fotheringay Castle, by the side of her husband, who fell in the battle of Wakefield.\*

\* Fotheringay Castle was erected by Edmund Langley, the progenitor and founder of the House of York. He ordered the keep

The death of Richard, who had reigned nearly two years, terminated the civil wars which had raged for thirty years, and cost the lives of above an hundred thousand Englishmen; in which number were included several Princes of the houses both of York and Lancaster.

Richmond claimed the crown from his affiance to the latter family; but as he well knew his title to it was doubtful, on account of the illegitimacy of his ancestor, the Duke of Somerset, he was extremely tenacious of his right as King, and chose to have it confirmed by parliament, and several acts of sovereignty performed by himself before he fulfilled his engagement of marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, lest he should be considered as reigning in the right of his wife rather than his own.

Somerset sprang from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Catherine Swineford, whom Lancaster afterwards married, and their children were legitimatized by act of parliament; but supposing this claim was recognised, Richmond's mother, as the daughter of the Duke, had a superior right to the throne.

The title of the family of York had been acknowledged by the whole nation, and the expectation of Richmond's now marrying a daughter of that house, was their principal inducement to

to be built in the form of a fetter-lock, the well-known cognizance of his line.

MISS AIKIN.

receive him as their King. They hoped to see the dissensions between the two houses quelled by their union; but Henry's jealousy of his own prerogative made him more anxious to establish himself on the throne, than to comply with their wishes. He however expressed his intention of marrying the Princess, and before he made his public entrance into London, he dispatched Sir Robert Willoughby, to escort her from the castle of Sheriff Hutton, where she had been detained by her uncle Richard as a prisoner at large, to the metropolis.\*

Here they met for the first time, and after being introduced to each other, he, with the air more of a governor than of a suitor, desired she might remain with her mother till their marriage could be celebrated.

With what anxiety must both the mother and daughter have looked forward to this event, on which hung all their future hopes. Affection was out of the question.—Interest alone made them desire the marriage, which from her first interview with her intended husband, could not promise the Princess much happiness.

\* The Earl of Warwick, then quite a youth, was also confined in the same castle as the Princess. He was at this time conducted to London, and committed to the Tower by Henry's order; who thus gave another proof of his jealous disposition, and of his fear that the claim of the House of York to the throne would be considered before his.

Thus far are the offspring of princes to be pitied, that they are seldom united from attachment to each other, but from motives of advantage either to themselves or the nation to which they belong. In this instance our beloved Princess Charlotte was an exception: she was married to the man to whom her heart was united and who was worthy of her affections. England can rejoice that short as was the period of her married life, it was crowned with domestic comfort; and that no connubial unhappiness hastened her much-lamented death.

But to return to my history.—Henry entered London in a covered carriage, and was the first English monarch who refused to gratify his subjects with a sight of himself, on his accession, not chusing to conciliate their affections, even by these common acts of recognizance between a king and his people. He was crowned on the 30th of October, 1485, and in the following month he called a parliament, who were entirely subservient to his will, and fully acknowledged his title to the throne. On his coronation, he created his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, Duke of Bedford; his father-in-law Lord Stanley, received the title of Earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, afterwards the husband of the youngest sister of the Princess Elizabeth, was created Earl of Devonshire.

In the ensuing parliament, he caused the act



of attainder against Edward Stafford, son to the late Duke of Buckingham to be repealed, and restored him to the honours and estates of his family: this was a testimony of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had been the first to concert the plan of his elevation, and had perished in his cause. During this period the Princess Elizabeth was almost totally neglected by him. It was even said, that before he quitted Brittany he had engaged to marry the Princess Anne, the heiress of that duchy, and this report not only raised the fears of the people, but created uneasiness in the mind of Elizabeth, who, from motives of policy as well as self-interest, had brought herself to look with complacency on their intended union, and had determined to use her utmost endeavours to gain the esteem of her husband.

Early in the year 1486, the parliament finding that he still delayed his marriage, ventured to petition him to fulfil his engagement with the Princess. He thought proper to comply, and on the 18th of January, their nuptials were celebrated to the great joy of the nation. The King noticed their unfeigned attachment to the house of York in their expressions of pleasure, which were more universal than when he entered London, or on his coronation; and the suspicions which it occasioned in his mind, destroyed his domestic tranquillity, and excited his dislike



towards his consort. Her amiable and unoffending manners were such as entitled her to his affection and respect, but he considered her as the head of a party against himself, nor could all her obsequiousness erase the idea from his sullen mind.

The Queen Dowager, saw with uneasiness her daughter's situation, and endeavoured by every attention in her power to soften her affliction. These attentions only served to irritate the King's temper, and increase his animosity towards his wife and her family. Doubtless the unhappy mother often compared her daughter's lot with her own, and now regretted that the desire of raising her daughter to the dignity of a Queen, should have induced her so earnestly to promote an union, which had produced no other advantage.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Birth of Arthur.—Rebellion in favour of Simnel.—Confinement and confiscation of the Queen Dowager.—Rebellion suppressed.—Coronation of the Queen.—The Marquess of Dorset.—Henry's issue.—Marriage and death of Arthur.—Death of the Queen.—Lord Woodville's Death.—Death of the Queen Dowager.—Conclusion.*

IN the ensuing year, 1487, the nation hailed the birth of a Prince. They hoped that this event would warm the chilling indifference with which the King treated his wife, and all who seemed attached to her interest; but it was far from having so desirable an effect. He appeared to consider his son as another rival, and daily grew more tenacious of his authority, and more reserved in his manners.

The young Prince, to whom the Queen Dowager stood sponsor, received the name of Arthur; but the attachment of the people towards his Queen, continually excited the jealousy of Henry, who was close, reserved, and avaricious; he disdained to court the favour of his subjects, and grudged every necessary expense. His coffers

were filled with money, which he exacted as fines from them, or as rewards for any benefit he did them; and though the laws were better established in his reign, he often made them subservient to his will, and wrested the appearance of justice to suit his purposes.

More arbitrary than many former monarchs, the race of Tudor, whilst they affected greater care for the interests of the nation, were fully determined to establish their own authority. Henry VII. was the first king who grounded his claim to the obedience of his subjects, on what he called the judgment of God in giving him the victory over his enemy; thus endeavouring to establish a divine right in kings, who, while they are permitted by Providence to fill exalted stations, are accountable to Him for their conduct in them.

As nothing is done without the foreknowledge and will of the Almighty, who directs and overrules each event to bring about His own purposes, the will of the people is in this respect the will of God, and kings are permitted to reign either as scourges or blessings to their subjects; but the power which raises them to the throne, can by the same means deprive them of it, when He sees fit to punish them, or the people whom they rule.

The increasing ill humour of the King, and his sordid disposition, induced his enemies to

form a plot in the second year of his reign, as enterprising as it was extravagant, since there could be little chance of its succeeding. A youth of obscure birth, but of extraordinary talents and personal attractions, named Lambert Simnel, and educated by a priest at Oxford, was instructed to personate the young Earl of Warwick, who was still in confinement in the Tower. He first appeared in Ireland, where the memory of his supposed father, the Duke of Clarence, was cherished for his mild government of them as Viceroy.

The old Duchess of York, who was yet living, is said to have encouraged the imposition, though as she had had the charge of the young Earl till he was ten years of age, it might have been easy for her to have confuted it. The Queen Dowager is also supposed to have given her consent to it, in revenge for the severity with which her daughter was treated, and the supercilious indifference the King shewed towards herself. She knew that the claims of the fictitious Warwick might at any time be set aside, and either thought by alarming Henry to make him more subservient to her will, or by dethroning him, to fix her daughter on the throne by the suffrages of the people.

Simnel was received in Ireland as his tutor had expected; he was universally acknowledged, and crowned in the city of Dublin as Edward VI.

with a diadem taken from an image of the Virgin Mary.

In the mean time Henry concealed his apprehensions if he had any, and levied an army to quell the insurrection, which was fast spreading. He also called a privy council, and by their means, secured the person and estates of the Queen Dowager; not chusing to appear as her accuser, and not having sufficient proof that she had aided this conspiracy, he obliged them to pronounce on her the sentence of perpetual imprisonment and confiscation of her estates, on the pretence of her having done wrong in committing her daughters to the care of their uncle Richard, after she had secretly agreed to the marriage of Elizabeth with himself.

If this maternal weakness could be considered as a crime, the public were astonished that Henry had not thought of punishing it before, and their dislike to him was more confirmed, when they found that the sentence against this unfortunate woman was never reversed. The Marquess of Dorset, her son, although he appears to have taken no part in the scene which was acting in Ireland, was also confined to the Tower; probably from the King's fear that he would avenge the injustice done to his mother.

The place of Elizabeth's confinement was the monastery of Bermondsey, where she was again condemned to brood over her misfortunes in

pinning solitude, "Lethe's gloom without its quiet, the pain without the peace of death." Poverty was now added to all her other distresses, and her sorrowing daughters were not allowed to mitigate them. Their fear of Henry's enmity induced three of them to accept the hands of those noblemen, who either from affection or pity offered them marriage. The splendid alliances which had been projected for them in their father's life time, were prevented by his death and their subsequent misfortunes. Cecily, who had been betrothed to the Prince of Scotland, married Lord Willes, and Anne, formerly affianced to Philip of Spain, was united to the Duke of Norfolk, and was the grandmother of Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII. and mother of Queen Elizabeth. Catherine, for whom Edward had negotiated a marriage with John, the Infant of Spain, became the wife of William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire. Bridget took the veil, and died in a nunnery at Deptford. Of all these sisters perhaps none was so unfortunate in their marriage as the eldest, whose alliance with Henry was so earnestly desired by her mother and the people. It was a national benefit, but productive only of unhappiness to herself; and the harsh treatment which her mother met with on her account must have been a severe addition to it.

After the Queen Dowager was thus secured,



Henry ordered that the real Earl of Warwick should be taken from the Tower, and produced to the public to refute the opinion of Simnel's identity, which however did not satisfy the people, till the troops which were sent from England had subdued the Irish, who had taken up arms in his cause. The young impostor and his tutor Simon, were taken prisoners: the latter was closely confined and never heard of afterwards; but on Simnel's confessing the conspiracy, he was pardoned, and for some time employed as a scullion in the King's kitchen, who affected to think revenge on so mean a rival beneath his dignity, and afterwards promoted him to the office of falconer.

After Henry had punished those who favoured Simnel's pretensions, by laying on them heavy fines and confiscations, which while it gratified his avarice gave him the appearance of clemency in sparing their lives, he endeavoured to conciliate the people by giving orders for the Queen's coronation, which took place November 25, two years after her marriage.

On this occasion the Marquess of Dorset\* was set at liberty, having cleared himself of the suspicions the King had entertained against

\* The amiable Lady Jane Grey, whose accomplishments and melancholy fate have rendered her celebrated in history, was a descendant of this nobleman.

him; and we do not read that he ever incurred his displeasure afterwards.

Elizabeth, Henry's Queen, brought him three sons and four daughters, two of whom died in their infancy. Her second son Henry succeeded his father on the throne, and was first married, by his command, to Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, because his avarice would not allow him to relinquish her dowry. Arthur died in his seventeenth year, after having been married five months; and Edmund died young.

Margaret, his eldest daughter, married the King of Scotland; her great grandson, James VI. of Scotland, succeeded to the crown of England, after the death of Queen Elizabeth. Mary, his second daughter, was first married to Louis XII. and after his death to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

The Queen lived till after the marriage of her eldest son and daughter, and died in childbed soon after the death of the former, early in the year 1503, aged thirty-seven years: the infant did not long survive her. This Queen died in the Tower, where the melancholy fate of her murdered brothers must have often recurred to her mind, and added to her sorrows. She was buried at Windsor. Queen's College, Cambridge, which was begun by Margaret, Queen of Henry VI. was completed and endowed by

Elizabeth. The historian Smollet says, "the King rejoiced at her death, as it relieved him from a hateful rival in his title to the throne;" and the nation, with whom she was deservedly a favorite, could not regret her release from a life of suffering, occasioned by her husband's unkindness.

The date of her mother's death is unknown, but the last years of her eventful life were spent in indigence and obscurity, without the solace of society or a friend to cheer her, and where the recollection of her former greatness must have presented a striking contrast to her gloomy solitude. If her children wished to offer her consolation, it could only be by stealth that they visited her, since the King's jealousy of their conduct was greatly increased by the continual plots and insurrections which disturbed his reign.

The last of the Woodville family mentioned in history is Lord Woodville, to whom the King had given that title and the government of the Isle of Wight. In 1487 the Duke of Brittany, who had formerly protected Henry, solicited his aid against Charles VIII. of France. Henry offered to mediate between these contending parties, but refused other succour; and Lord Woodville, after having requested his permission in vain, ventured to raise a troop of volunteers for the service of Brittany without the King's

leave, and was slain, with all his followers, fighting for the Duke in the following year.

The death of her only surviving brother probably hastened that of the Queen Dowager, the heroine of my tale ; whose history remains a sad record of the instability of human greatness, and should teach us not to build our hopes of happiness on any thing this world can offer. To those who are accustomed to reflect on what they read, the events of her life will shew, that whether in a private or an exalted station, there can be no dependence on earthly bliss ; and that the only source of comfort is derived from true religion, and the prospect of eternal happiness through the merits of a merciful Saviour.

THE END.

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